

IN THESE TIMES

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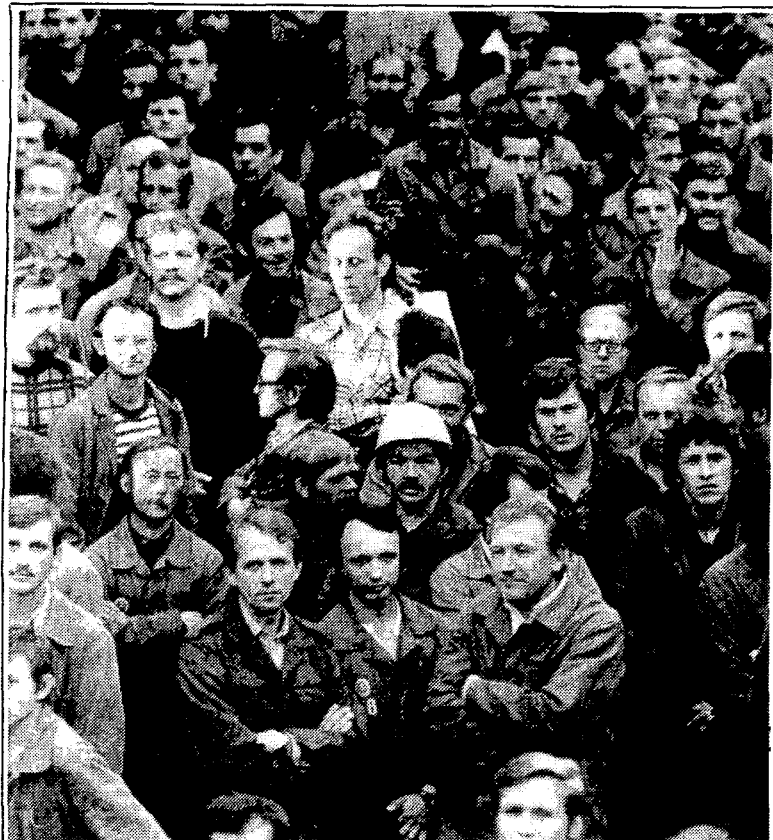
LORDSTOWN REVISITED



David Moberg

**Once the firebrands
of the UAW, Ohio
union members now practice
prudent militancy.**

DAVID MOBERG PAGE 8



Der Spiegel

Workers find the present state of affairs intolerable and ardently seek a change.

Business as usual now in Poland

By David Ost

W A R S A W

This is the first in a two-part series on Poland.

Some people guessed three or four, while others figured perhaps as many as six. But the correct answer was one: that's how many months elapsed before the Polish government rearrested some of the prisoners released under its July "amnesty." The label is a misnomer, because it was only a mass parole. Anyone found guilty of a "similar" crime in the next two-and-a-half years will have to serve the rest of the sentence from which he or she has just been released.

The authorities then announced they were preparing a law that would allow forced deportation of oppositionists. Although its own reports show that the economy keeps tumbling down, yet the government's chief concern remains trying to put down an opposition it knows it cannot crush.

Poland is not the same country it was at the end of 1982. Paradoxically, the reason it is not the same is that it is the same. It is precisely this immobility that then seemed impossible to imagine. There is the same inertia: no reform from above, no lack of opposition from below. Never before has a state socialist system been so unable to restore its hegemony after suppressing a major challenge. What has become normal in Poland is not the old political system, but the resistance to it.

Opposition politics, where it is not permitted, is necessarily conspiratorial. In 1982, when it was still unclear where the line would be drawn, basic rules of conspiracy infringed even on social life in Poland. Today much of this has been cast aside. At home or on the telephone, people say things they would not have dared in 1982. The decline in fear is clearly borne out by the astounding 40 percent boycott of the June elections, despite the threats of repression.

People have become more relaxed, too. 1982 was a year of mourning. People generally refused to be happy, as if a smile would legitimate the repression by proving it could even momentarily be forgotten. Unfortunately, this also meant a refusal to be thoughtful or critical. Reality seemed crystal clear, a balanced assessment of the past and future would have blurred the categories of good and evil in which it was comfortable to think. People were determined not to feel at ease until the political situation was changed. Today people have not accepted the political situation, but they realize that it won't be changed overnight and that asceticism may only postpone the fall by creating a nation of depressed souls unable to mount any serious opposition. So public entertainment is OK again, artistic festivals are no longer boycotted and people seem to be laughing more than before.

There is a dispute about whether the country is being normalized, with the government shouting "yes" and the opposition crying "no." What is "normalization"? No one knows for sure, but essentially it means the system running according to its pre-Solidarity rules, with a supremely powerful state reserving all rights of initiative and with no uncontrolled opposition.

What are the conditions for normalization? It requires neither popular support for the Party—something absent in Czechoslovakia and unattainable in Poland—nor a well-functioning economy since endemic waste was a functional part of the pre-Solidarity "normality." It may not even require a strong Party, because recent experience in Poland has shown that the leadership's orders can be carried out by army instead of Party personnel, while the facade of Party rule can always be maintained by the mass media. What normalization requires is not that individual citizens accept the system, but that they believe that others do. Many Hungarians and Czechoslovakians will tell you that the system is unacceptable. But they will not say that the majority of the population feels the same. In Poland, however, it is not simply the opposition that

believes that most of society is on its side. Even those who support the system continually voice their suspicions that others do not. The government press spokesman can still not go through a press conference without speaking of the underground.

Few messages, however, are as revealing as the slogan posted prominently throughout the country before the June elections to the national councils: "YOU WON'T CHANGE A THING BY STANDING ON THE SIDELINES! VOTE." The admonition that people won't succeed in changing things by boycotting is only an admission that people find the present state of affairs intolerable and ardently seek a change.

Nearly three years after the imposition of martial law, the government is still fighting the trade union movement. The trade union law of 1982, which delegatized Solidarity, allowed for the revival of trade union pluralism in January 1984. In late 1983 the government "amended" the law, moving up the effective date to January 1985. As the deadline approaches again, the government is preparing to abolish the provision altogether. Trade union pluralism, declared press spokesman Jerzy Urban in late June, "has been a failure. We have had a bad experience with it," he said, without bothering to identify the pronoun "we."

The government's position has become even tougher since the "amnesty," when so many trade unionists were suddenly back on the streets. On July 30 a leading Party ideologist wrote an article titled "On the Question of Pluralism" that provided the excuse for the inevitable clampdown. "The demand for trade union pluralism embodied workers demands in the Fall of 1980," the ideologist begins suspiciously. "Pluralism in those conditions were a call for the rejuvenation of the union movement....The same slogan put forward by certain people today however, in the new reality, when unions are really independent and self-governing, has a clear political character to it," and is actually aimed at something "quite far from genuine union activity. The working class needs unity. New trade unions, obviously, only threaten that unity."

The law has not been changed yet, but no doubt it will be shortly. The process is characteristic of law-making in Poland. First the press spokesman hints at a change. The press prints opinions on the matter supporting what the spokesman has hinted. The government then cites those discussions as proof of "consultation with the working class." The law is passed.

The Party's fear of initiative from below is well-placed, for society has demonstrated that it is not out of ideas. Nor is it just the Solidarity underground that has them. As the economic crisis drags on, farmers in Pulawy, for example, persist in their efforts to establish consumer and distribution cooperatives. They began seeking the required permission during the Solidarity era, and have been refused continually. What the government appears to find unacceptable is these farmers' open commitment to the principles of the socialist cooperatives of the past. It leaves too little room for control by the center.

Many factory self-management councils have emerged, with greatly restricted powers, yet even these have not proved reliable. Council representatives from the 16 largest factories had planned to meet to discuss the economic situation, but the police arrested the organizer days before the session was to begin and notified the others that the meeting was "cancelled." The problem was that it seemed too much like the continuation of the Network, the Solidarity organization that brought together union representatives from these same 16 plants. To the chagrin of the authorities, old ideas retain their potency. They have difficulty trusting anyone anymore.

Unlike three years ago, they can fully trust the Party, but unlike three years ago, this hardly seems to matter. The Party continues in a state of disarray and even its own leaders, in private, see little

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chance of it being rebuilt as an authoritative institution.

The bastion of support for the regime today comes from the police and the upper ranks of the armed forces. They are still the most powerful forces in the state and the economy, and they know it. This narrow and peculiar social base partially explains why even showcase reform has been stifled. These men have come to shine at last. They are reluctant to tamper with an arrangement that has fared them so well. As far as they're concerned, the real reform is the one they carried out in December 1981, replacing a bankrupt Party with an efficient military administration that was willing to be as tough with the "enemy" as was necessary, and could put an end to a shameful era of vacillation, weakness and indecision. (They look back to the Solidarity years in much the same way, and with the same words, as the American right looks back to the Carter years. Each ruling group feels scandalized by its predecessor's irresolute behavior, and the idea of a return to these periods fills each with dread.) When Poland's rulers now hear talk of reform, they see 1980-81 all over again. The only guarantee they have of not returning to such humiliating times is to now arouse society by initiating even coquettish reforms and to not give power back to the Party.

The future, as always, is uncertain. Nothing has to happen, since public opinion is essentially irrelevant. One possibility, nonetheless, is that de facto status quo will become institutionalized by laws and constitutional amendments guaranteeing the armed forces a

Continued on page 6



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IN THESE TIMES

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

DID RONALD REAGAN'S conciliatory speech at the United Nations September 24 and his three-hour talk September 28 with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko signal the beginning of a Soviet-American thaw? Or were they simply designed to deprive Reagan's challenger, former Vice President Walter Mondale, of one of his few remaining issues?

The fact that it is hard to say how much of Reagan's "peace offensive" was campaign hype and how much was genuine diplomacy is a measure of its political success. While the only concrete accomplishment was a Soviet-American agreement to send "representatives" to regular meetings on regional issues, the speech and the visit could lay the basis for more ambitious negotiations in the future.

Whether they do depends on factors not readily visible on the campaign trail: the ascendancy or descendancy of various factions within the administration. If Reagan wins a second term, his inclination to make good on the UN speech and Gromyko's visit will rest on his willingness to take sides within his administration.

Administration debate.

From its first day, the Reagan administration has been deeply divided on its approach to arms control negotiations. Its "zero-option" proposal in Europe—offering not to install American missiles if the Soviet Union dismantled all of its SS-20s—was pressed by the Pentagon but opposed by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who charged that the proposal was "not negotiable."

The administration's START proposals for a strategic arms accord, presented in mid-1982, reflected the Pentagon's insistence that the Soviet Union dismantle its heavy missiles, but did not contain any concessions—or "flexibility," as the State Department termed it—on the American part. Both the initial INF and START proposals were peremptorily rejected by the Russians.

Retired Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, chair of the President's Commission on Strategic Forces (otherwise known as "the Scowcroft Commission") described the division this way: "The administration is basically philosophically split between those who want to dictate the specifics of force structure on each side and

There is a split between those who insist that the strategic balance must be altered favorably either prior to or as a result of negotiations and those willing to subject the negotiations to a process of give-and-take with the aim to perpetuate parity between the two sides.

those who would allow each side to take reductions where they want."

In simpler terms, the administration is split between those who insist that the strategic balance must be altered favorably either prior to or as a result of negotiations, and those who are willing to subject the negotiations to a process of give-and-take with the aim of perpetuating parity between the two sides.

Last year, the division erupted again when Euromissile negotiator Paul Nitze returned to the U.S. with a proposal, worked out with his Soviet counterpart, to reduce substantially American and Soviet deployments. Nitze's proposal was vetoed by the Pentagon.

According to a senior State Department official, Nitze argued that the best time to secure concessions from the Soviet Union was before deployment of the American cruise and Pershing II missiles, while the Pentagon argued that the best time would be after deployment.

This summer differences erupted over the Soviet proposal for negotiations on space weapons and a moratorium on space weapons tests. While the State Department favored a moratorium and negotiations, the Defense Department opposed both. The resulting American response—supporting informal talks, but not negotiations or a moratorium—was quickly rejected by the Russians.

The principals in this debate are, on the one side, Secretary of State George Shultz and Richard Burt, the director of the State Department's Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs, and on the other, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Undersecretary Fred Ikle and Assistant Secretary Richard Perle. Most knowledgeable observers see Perle, a former aide to Henry Jackson, as the principal foe of any arms control agreement.

Sen. Larry Pressler (R-SD), the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Arms Control, blames Perle and his Pentagon allies. "All roads on this subject lead back to Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle," Pressler said.

Preparing for Gromyko.

The tenor of Reagan's UN speech and his willingness to meet with Gromyko reflected pressure from inside the White House and from the State Department. Reagan's chief aides James Baker, Michael Deaver and Richard Darman urged the president to use the occasion to de-

fuse public fears about his position on arms control and the Soviet Union. The aides have also said privately to reporters that they see an improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations as a major objective of Reagan's second term.

But out of fear that the Pentagon would sabotage the speech and the visit, their details were kept secret from Weinberger and his lieutenants until the last moment. Even then, however, a dispute erupted over how the president would respond to the Soviet proposals for a moratorium on space weapons tests.

The State Department wanted him to offer a moratorium—an American test of an anti-satellite weapon is scheduled two weeks after the November elections—but the Pentagon demurred. The Pentagon even took exception to an ambiguous statement in Reagan's speech that the U.S. "would consider what measures of restraint both sides might take while negotiations [on space weapons] proceed."

Under pressure from the Pentagon and the State Department, White House officials kept changing their minds about whether the phrase would appear in the speech. It was not included in a version

given to the U.S. Information Agency for overseas release, but it was finally included in Reagan's speech itself. In Reagan's talk with Gromyko, however, he is reported to have made no specific promises about a moratorium.

Most arms control advocates in Washington believe that if Weinberger, Ikle and Perle retain their posts in a second Reagan administration, any future efforts at arms control negotiations will be sabotaged, regardless of Reagan's private intentions. Former CIA official Arthur Macy Cox said, "Nobody should have any illusions that after the election anything will change, because the people in power don't want any change."

Even if Weinberger does not return as Secretary of Defense and if Shultz remains as Secretary of State, the future of arms control negotiations is in doubt. As the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Dmitri Simes told the *National Journal*, the "moderates" or "pragmatists" on the peace issue lack personal commitment, while the hardliners in the Pentagon "are prepared to fight for their proposals and lose even at the cost of their careers."

Perception of the Soviet Union

Ronald Reagan's Sept. 24 speech at the UN was notable not only for its conciliatory tone, but also for its conventional view of the Soviet-American rivalry. In past speeches Reagan had cast it in quasi-religious terms as a battle between good and evil. In his UN speech, he spoke of states with different "interests."

This change in perspective may have been political window dressing. Or it may reflect a change in the administration's view of the Soviet Union.

In the administration's first year, its view of and strategy toward the Soviet Union was shaped by Harvard professor Richard Pipes, who served as the Soviet expert on the National Security Council. Pipes argued that by taking a hard line toward trade and negotiations with the Soviet Union, the U.S. would precipitate an internal economic crisis that would elevate politically moderate economic decentralists to the party leadership and lay the basis for genuine detente.

Pipes' theory informed Reagan's June 1982 speech in London, where he declared that the Soviet Union was undergoing a "great revolutionary crisis," and Pipes' theory also justified the Pentagon's intransigence on negotiations and trade.

But according to the *National Journal*'s Michael Gordon, the administration abandoned Pipes' theory last year, about the time when Pipes himself returned to Harvard. Realizing that the U.S.'s European allies were reluctant to cooperate in a trade embargo and skeptical of Pipes' claim that a hardline attitude would soften rather than harden Soviet policy, State Department and National Security Council analysts drafted a new policy statement, National Security Decision Directive 75.

The new statement assumes that the U.S. has only a limited ability to influence internal affairs in the Soviet Union and that it should concentrate on trying to affect the Soviet Union's international behavior. This view could still be used to justify trade embargoes—on the grounds that they imperil the Soviet military buildup—but it could also be the basis of a new administration effort toward negotiations.

—J.B.J.



Reagan administration is divided on arms negotiations

INSHORT

One man's wooden hut...

A question bandied about the halls of Congress more and more this past year: "What constitutes permanence?" No, it's not a philosophical exercise but the ongoing debate on the Pentagon's use of funds to build "temporary" military bases in Honduras. When the General Accounting Office ruled in June that the Pentagon had misused "operations and maintenance funds" to build airstrips and bases costing more than \$200,000 each, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger chose to see the decision as a bookkeeping error. But other insiders, including GAO officials and a retired Marine colonel, aren't as unflappable as Weinberger. In a recent article in September's *Common Cause* magazine, one GAO official said that the Pentagon's action in Honduras has the potential for "complete disregard" of the Constitution's establishment of civilian control over the military.

The Pentagon's argument hinges on the word "temporary"—like the 94 wooden huts built for barracks at San Lorenzo to the tune of \$300,000 or the extended paved runway at Trujillo to accommodate massive U.S. cargo planes for \$260,000. But John Buchanan, a retired Marine lieutenant colonel who is now a senior fellow at the Center for Development Policy, a Washington-based research facility, says the barracks and runways will last for "decades, if they're maintained." And it's likely that they will be maintained and more, given that upgrading existing facilities has been the Defense Department's main tactic for obtaining funds for their Honduras plan. Although the Defense Department must now charge the improperly used funds to the right accounts and file a report with Congress if those new accounts don't have sufficient funds to cover the debts, as *Common Cause* says, "The Pentagon got what it wanted": extensive bases and intelligence operations in Honduras.

Deukmejian releases contracts

The Republican administration of California governor George Deukmejian moved on September 26 to strengthen the language of the anti-abortion provisions of 168 state family planning contracts, reports Todd Woody. The administration hold-up of 41 of those contracts since July 1 had led some family planning agents and California legislators to charge that Deukmejian and Secretary of Health and Welfare David Swoap intended to terminate funds to those family planning agencies that also offer abortion services (See *ITT*, Oct. 3). But over the past few weeks, family planning officials and legislators—including state Senator Diane Watson—pressured the administration to release the contracts.

The new Deukmejian amendment strengthened the language of existing provisions that prohibit the use of state funds for abortions but didn't impose any new restrictions on the contracts. David Alois, public affairs officer for Planned Parenthood in Sacramento, told *ITT* that the contract hold-up and the new amendment are a "travesty." He added, "We've been working under these conditions all along. The hold-up endangered the programs and put a lot of people through a lot of misery."

What price hospitality?

A little hospitality can be a dangerous thing. Especially when a white family takes a black presidential candidate into their home, reports Keith Brooks. Linda Jarrard, a 47-year-old mother of five and an unemployed pipefitter, invited Jesse Jackson to stay with her family last April, two weeks before the Maryland primary. At the time, Jarrard was unsure of who she'd vote for but she was attracted to the candidate who visited the unemployed and working poor to "focus on the poor—to make the press deal with something real," in Jackson's words. Soon after Jackson's arrival, Jarrard was won over and she and her husband became a visible part of Jackson's rainbow coalition. She also became a focus of media attention when the Baltimore County social services accused her of falsifying her welfare forms—the accounts of Jackson's stay showed Mr. Jarrard living at the Jarrard household contrary to Linda's claim that they were separated. When a more thorough search showed that Bill Jarrard had moved back in only for the Jackson visit, the charge—though not the investigation—was dropped. The special investigations unit of the state welfare department stepped in and soon uncovered that Jarrard was supplementing her \$500 a month in welfare benefits by driving a school bus part-time. In mid-August, Jarrard was handcuffed and arrested in front of her children for welfare fraud—the first time in six years that a welfare client was arrested without being summoned to court first. Though Jarrard claims innocence of any intention to commit fraud—she says she thought the extra pay fell below the amount that would have jeopardized her welfare status and that she was openly working on the Baltimore County payroll—she believes she knows why the state singled her out. "If we hadn't hosted Jackson, everything would have gone normally. Now they're digging up every little dirt they can."

Born to run

Rock 'n' roll is here to stay if Ronald Reagan has anything to do with it. On a campaign stop in Hammonton, New Jersey, the *New York Times* cites Reagan praising the "message of hope" in the rock lyrics of "New Jersey's own Bruce Springsteen." The *Times* added dryly, "The president's press office could not immediately say what Springsteen tune might be Mr. Reagan's favorite."

—Beth Maschinot



Down on the farm: Mondale and Reagan bid for votes

IOWA CITY, IOWA—Facing their worst crisis since the Great Depression, American farmers are saddled today with \$215 billion in debt, four times as much as a decade ago, at an average interest rate of 11 percent. Since January 1981, 239,000 farm families have moved off the land, and the mass exodus is expected to continue for several years at record rates. In Iowa, for instance, 3,500 of the state's 115,000 farmers have given up in the last two years and state Secretary of Agriculture Robert Lounsberry predicts the departure of 11,000 more families by the end of 1985.

Iowa is the state where presidential candidates go to present their farm plans. Both President Reagan and Democratic contender Walter Mondale have paid homage to farmers in recent visits to Iowa. Mondale promised a farm plan at the state fair in Des Moines in August, and delivered one later in Tennessee. His plan supported a six-month moratorium on foreclosures by the Farmers Home Administration, and offered a sliding-scale interest rate reduction: five percent on the first \$100,000 owed, decreasing by one percent for each \$100,000 increment up to \$500,000. Mondale would also allocate \$750 million for loan guarantees for private loans and would set up local arbitration committees to decide upon terms of loan deferments.

In a plan released Sept. 18, Reagan allocated \$630 million for federal loan guarantees of farm debt, but deferred loans only up to \$100,000 (in contrast to Mondale's \$500,000). Rather than use Mondale's proposed arbitration committees, Reagan simply

offered deferment up to five years. Reagan offered no moratorium on FmHA foreclosures, but would add new members with farm credit backgrounds to FmHA's county committees. The county committees decide the credit eligibility of farmers applying for FmHA loans. The lending agency has been under attack from farmers who say it has been unnecessarily zealous in closing out farmers with troubled loans, and in discouraging farmers from applying for low-interest disaster loans for which they might be eligible.

Both plans follow a significant amount of pressure from both Democrat and Republican farm state politicians. Iowa is not the only state to pressure the candidates to respond to the farm credit crisis, but it has taken a leading role in raising the issue.

In May, Iowa State University economist Neil Harl galvanized media attention by proposing the first major plan for debt relief. It was then introduced in Congress by Republican Rep. Jim Leach of Iowa. Harl's plan would ask banks to write off 10 to 20 percent of the principal on farm loans in return for federal loan guarantees. That money would still be paid by farmers, but would be used to underwrite the guarantees for the banks. One criticism of that plan was that some particularly hard-hit rural banks could not write off that much loan principal without jeopardizing their already marginal capitalization.

Perhaps the most interesting political twist, however, came when Rep. Cooper Evans held a press conference before Reagan unveiled his farm plan to suggest that Reagan should not make his

scheduled visit to Iowa unless he had a comprehensive farm plan to offer. Evans is a two-term Republican incumbent facing a challenge by Joe Johnston, an attorney who is making the ailing farm economy the centerpiece of his challenge.

Johnston has built his farm support largely by going beyond the debate about restructuring debt to emphasize that "the real issue is profitability." He has begun telling audiences that "if all we do is restructure debt, we are merely shuffling deck chairs on the Titanic."

Thus, when Reagan released his plan and Evans expressed surprise that it called for a liberal five-year deferment on repayment of loans to the FmHA, Johnston's campaign manager quickly faulted the plan not only for lack of a moratorium, but for its failure to discuss measures to improve overall farm income through price supports. Johnston suggested the president had failed to meet Evans' criteria of a "comprehensive" plan and should not come to Iowa.

Reagan made his three-hour visit anyway, though much of his talk that day focused on the attack that same morning on the U.S. embassy in Beirut.

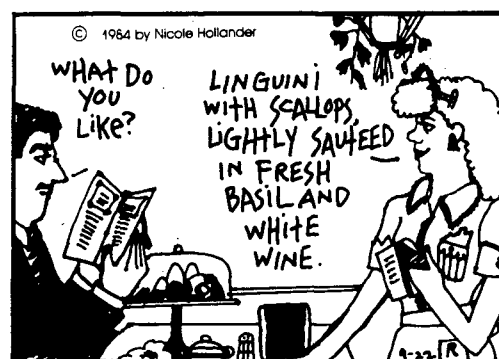
The reaction to Reagan's proposal from farm groups was often caustic, however. Dan Levitas of Rural America—which has run a farm crisis "hotline" in Des Moines since 1982 to counsel financially troubled farmers—questioned how far the \$630 million in loan guarantees would go when stacked up against \$17.5 billion in farm debt in Iowa alone.

Peter Croghan, a Woodbine farmer who is president of the Iowa Farmers Union, attacked Reagan for releasing six weeks before the election a plan that "could have been released two years ago when we had more farmers in agriculture."

—Jim Schwab

SYLVIA

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by Nicole Hollander



Three different approaches to the German question

By Diana Johnstone

B O N N

This is the second of a two-part series on "the German question."

ONCE AGAIN THE "GERMAN question" haunts Europe. Even when unmentioned, it is a formative issue in European policy-making. And in West Germany, the conservative government has officially declared the German question "open."

The question carries with it a range of imaginary answers that influence leaders. The usual answer, reunification, receives the heartiest official support from West Germany's allies when it seems least in danger of being realized. "The Western allies want reunification only so long as it is impossible," a leading French specialist on Germany, Alfred Grosser, has said.

But the allies are not the only ones whose words about the German question do not always match their intentions. Konrad Adenauer staunchly demanded reunification. But his policy of attaching West Germany firmly to the Western alliance ruled it out. The Russians made it clear that they would never give up East Germany and would never allow it to be incorporated into an anti-Soviet military alliance.

Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* seemed to lay the German question to rest by a series of treaties recognizing the post-war status quo. Officially, the treaties left open only the second part of the question's two parts, which are the following:

- *The Eastern territories.* The Federal Republic was founded in 1949 as a transitional state officially awaiting the reunification of Germany in its pre-war 1937 boundaries. These included territories east of the Oder-Neisse line incorporated into Poland (Pomerania, Silesia, part of

East Prussia) and the USSR (the rest of East Prussia). In 1970, Brandt signed the Warsaw Treaty with Poland recognizing the Oder-Neisse line as Poland's western boundary. This meant abandoning claims to the Eastern territories from which the German populations had been largely driven out in 1945. This concession was strongly opposed by the large associations of exiles, *Vertriebene*, representing 10 million ethnic Germans expelled from the Eastern territories. But the issue seemed settled.

- *Reunification.* The German question was thus officially reduced to eventual reunification of East and West Germany. At the end of 1972, Brandt signed the Basic Treaty that established a "special kind of relationship" between what he described as "two states in Germany." East German leaders continued to press for more specific recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state. But in West Germany, reunification receded to the background of consciousness as a distant goal.

Yet some conservative Western leaders evidently fear that this process might succeed and could lead to a militarily neutral Germany whose social system would be the product of compromises between the Social Democrats and East German Communists. Such a prospect, however imaginary, would be a powerful motive for yanking West Germany firmly back into the Western camp. Last year's deployment of Pershing 2 missiles seemed to block the evolutionary process of reunification through detente.

In his "state of the nation in divided Germany" speech to the Bundestag last March 15, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl proclaimed that "the German question remains open" and linked it to the unification of Europe as a whole. The reunification of Germany must take place in "freedom" and not in "socialism," he said, trying to allay Western (especially French) suspicions that the Federal

Republic might sacrifice its Free World alliance in a deal with Moscow for reunification.

"We must unite Europe in order to complete the unity and freedom of Germany as well," Kohl said. This is the theme of his government's German-German policy.

There was an essential ambiguity in Kohl's speech as to precisely what he meant by Europe. "Europe must unite politically, otherwise the prospects for the Germans to realize their unity in a European peace order will also be lost," he said. He seems to mean Western Europe in the first half of his sentence, and in the second, a Europe that has somehow expanded to include East Germany.

Kohl offered a suggestion as to how the "German question" could contribute to such an expansion. "With the Germans' demand for free self-determination, divided Europe finds a force that can also serve its renewal and unification," he said. If Kohl had said that German nationalism was the force that could reunite Eastern and Western Europe, there would have been quite a scandal.

Kohl said that the FRG has always striven to be "the motor for European unification" and that "only a dynamic European Community and its magnetism will keep open for the future the chance for change in all Europe."

Strategists are busy these days trying to think of ways to use the enormous current American arms buildup and overall Western military and technological superiority to reshape the world. The consensus among Western leaders is that the Soviet empire is weak and declining, and must be exploited. There is a search for "linkage" between Western power and diplomacy. While the public is kept frightened of Soviet strength, some leadership circles entertain the hope that Soviet weakness may be so great that the Russians will give up Eastern Europe for

a "European peace order."

What is needed is recognition that the "peace question" is "above all a question of the *shaping of the political order in Europe*," wrote Colonel Gerhard Hubatschek, a member of the West German Defense Ministry planning staff, in a recent issue of the semi-official journal *Europäische Wehrkunde*. Colonel Hubatschek said it was necessary to get rid of the notion of "balance," since "part of balance is the division of Germany."

"Balance on the European continent is today dependent on the *lasting division of Germany*, just as for the global balance, the keeping of each of the two parts of Germany in the field of influence of the respective superpower is required," he wrote. The main obstacle to "the solution of the German question in the framework of a European peace order" was "Moscow's determination to alter the globally unfavorable position of the Soviet Union through a military offensive strategy against Western Europe."

This was an allusion to the Soviet Union's longstanding military posture in Europe, which is intended to prevent Soviet territory from being devastated again as it was in World War II by carrying any new conflict rapidly onto the territory of the other side—the "Western aggressors" from the Russian viewpoint, meaning primarily the Germans. Close to half a million Soviet troops stationed in East Germany can carry out this "offensive strategy"—a military concept that is not the same thing as *aggressive intent*, although it is easy to mix up the two things.

Therefore, Colonel Hubatschek argued, "any change in the political and military status of the GDR presupposes *the Soviet Union giving up its offensive strategy*." For this it is necessary "to force those holding power in the Kremlin to recognize that there is no prospect for the success of the offensive strategy...."

"The recognition of the hopelessness of their offensive strategy can be achieved only through the determination of the West to use its overall superior potential to strengthen its military might and to throw into the balance its geostrategic advantages as well as its economic superiority against the Soviet Union...."

Colonel Hubatschek is not the only one to believe that this will force the Russians to reconsider the foundations of their whole post-war policy, based on creating an Eastern European buffer zone to protect Soviet territory. The Pershing 2 missiles make buffer zones outdated. Strategists like Colonel Hubatschek hope they will convince the Russians to seek a way out of an escalating rivalry they cannot hope to win and thus negotiate what is being called "a new peace order in Europe" that would mean relinquishing Soviet political control of Eastern Europe. "But contrary to many expectations," he noted, "there has up to now been no 'German policy offer' in the course of the war of nerves around the missile modernization."

The political mood in West Germany is an element in this "war of nerves." This summer Bonn officials gave a show of support to the exiles (*Vertriebene*) associations the likes of which has not been seen since the height of the Cold War in the '50s. For the first time a Federal President, Karl Carstens (three weeks before leaving office), addressed the Munich convention of Sudeten Germans, the most extreme of the exile groups since it claims the part of Czechoslovakia won by Hitler in the Munich agreements—a claim that has never been supported by any Bonn government. But the organized exiles are a huge and active right-wing constituency for the Christian Democrats. About 40 Christian Democratic Bundestag members are active in the associations, which have launched many a political career.

After Brandt's Eastern treaties, the exile associations faded into the background in the '70s. This year they have re-emerged in the limelight with the financial and political encouragement of the Kohl government. The parade of

Continued on the following page

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cabinet ministers who addressed huge gatherings of nostalgics for Silesia, Pomerania, East Prussia and Danzig stressed two themes: the new generation and the new "European" dimension.

As for the new generation, it was remarkable at this summer's gatherings that German interest in the former German territories shows no sign of dying out with the actual exiles. Their sons were there considering themselves faithful "Pomeranians" or "Upper Silesians" ready to carry on the torch.

At a meeting on "German policy" in the Reichstag in West Berlin last May, the leader of the Pomeranian association, Philipp von Bismarck, said, "For our children and grandchildren, 'back to the homeland' does not come first, but rather that 'European advance' for a free East Prussia, Silesia and Pomerania with a free Poland in a free Europe."

It is not absolutely clear what is meant by a free Poland in this grand scheme, since some of the German exiles from Pomerania and Silesia believe that the Poles, in turn, should be expelled from those former German territories so they can become German again. But the government prefers to overlook such "extremist" sides of the exile movement in its enthusiasm for the vision of "free Europe."

The following are three different approaches to answering the German question:

• **Policy of strength.** The West should use its overall strategic superiority to force the Soviet Union to negotiate a new political order in Europe. Germany would not be disarmed or neutralized. But the Soviet Union would be promised security and stability on its Western borders. For this to work, the "China card" is an important element—that is, the more the Russians fear a Chinese military threat in the East, the more willing they will be to make concessions in Europe to relieve pressure on their western flank.

• **Peace-making policy.** Detente is still

Bonn's official policy and enjoys public support. The Social Democratic Party is actively engaged in seeking ways to keep it alive by furthering the arms control and disarmament process. Cooperation on such problems as environmental protection—or, eventually, Third World development—could help break down barriers between East and West.

• **Compromise.** The vast area of compromise between peace policy and the policy of strength is where most Western political leaders are operating and where most decisions are likely.

As the French and Germans tighten their military cooperation, the invisible tug-of-war sharpens between conservative forces in the two countries. The French seem to have turned against Brandt's *Ostpolitik* precisely because it was giving the Germans the lion's share of Western influence in Eastern Europe. The French believe that the policy of strength will decrease German influence by reviving Russian fears of German "revanchism," thus enabling the French to recapture their mediating role in Eastern Europe.

But if the policy of strength is pursued, the German right may well snatch control for itself in order to reap the benefits for German interests. If the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty breaks down next year, the pressure will grow for Germany to develop its own nuclear arsenal so it can carry on its own policy of strength without depending on anybody else.

In this light, some Bonn observers interpret Helmut Schmidt's speech last June urging France to give the Germans some say in nuclear policy as a "last chance" plea to the French to make some concessions to stop the West German military-industrial complex from going ahead with its own nuclear arsenal. So while the French are secretly hoping that fear of Germany will make the Russians continue to answer the German question with a resounding "nyet," some Germans are openly hoping that the threat of unification can force major changes in Eastern Europe.

Poland

Continued from page 2

central role in the state and minimizing the Party's role. Despite everything, the army still enjoys a certain national prestige. Poles can more readily identify with its proclaimed values than with the Party's. Eventually the Party may even be dissolved in a desperate attempt to stabilize the system by appealing to nationalist sentiments against the unpopular "alien" doctrines of the Party (whose alleged Jewish character it would still be possible to assert, for example, through the figure of spokesman Urban).

Of course such a dramatic turnabout cannot simply be proclaimed. It would have to be underwritten by an institution that people trust, preferably the Church. Such a resolution promises great benefits for both: domestic peace for the government and unimpeded growth for the Church. The seeds of such a possible future have already been planted, as the Church has been granted unprecedented concessions by the post-Solidarity regime.

"Militarism is the final stage of Communism," an underground slogan declares allusively, and it appears that the government might agree. But although state leader Jaruzelski and Church leader Glemp may be amenable to this Polish "historic compromise"—a Francoism without the excessive anti-Communism—the institutions they control are far from unified.

When a school director in Garwolin literally threw a crucifix out the window to initiate the famous "battle of the crosses" earlier this year, it was a provocation aimed more at Jaruzelski than at the Church. The Church, meanwhile, has talked social justice and democratic rights for so long that it confronts a utopian opposition from its own ranks when it tries to come to a realpolitik agreement with the government.

Much, of course, depends on interna-

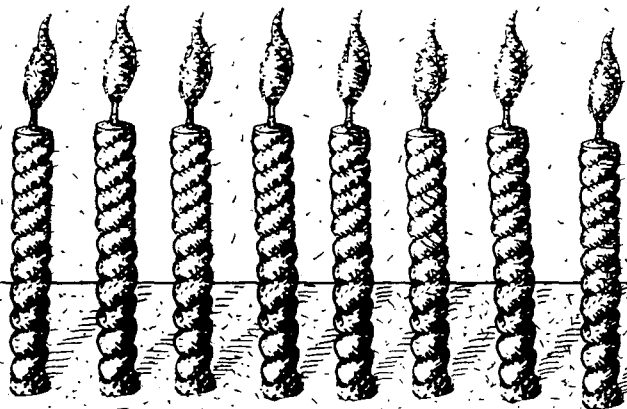
tional developments. There is a feeling in Poland and throughout East European opposition circles that the Polish events of recent years and the inability to restore the old status quo represent a death blow to "classical" state socialism. Thus they believe major historical transformations are inevitable.

East Germany, confronting the Soviet Union over rapprochement with the West, may have learned a lesson from Poland. Instead of waiting for stirrings from below, the Party tries to win public support by flirting with nationalist sentiments. Why should the Soviets accept such changes now when they never have before? They may have no choice. Retaining extensive influence in Poland is crucial to the USSR, especially with a restive East Germany. The question for the Soviets is how to retain this influence in light of the collapse of the Party. Their options may be either to negotiate with society at large and permit a Finlandization of Poland (an option acceptable to most of the opposition and underground), or to promote a non-Party dictatorship in alliance with the Church. Polish conservatives of the right and left favor the authoritarian Church-State alliance, and if Jaruzelski were a more forceful individual he might try something bold in this direction, taking advantage of the Soviet transition period.

Radicals of the right and left (different wings of the underground) favor the more democratic resolution. The extensive cultural and political activities independently organized by the opposition anticipate that possible future. It is more and more difficult to find moderates who feel the system can still be patched up and reformed. Bronislaw Geremek, former Solidarity advisor and close confidante of Lech Walesa, is one such moderate, and he is trying desperately to convince government and opposition alike that reform, because it is so necessary, is in fact possible. Few people on any side seem to agree.

David Ost, *In These Times*' correspondent from Poland in 1981-82, returned to Poland this summer.

IN THESE TIMES' Eighth Anniversary

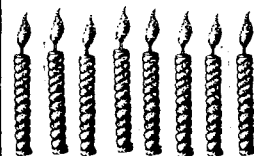


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By Joan Walsh

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

THE FIRST UNITED METHODIST Church in downtown Albuquerque is not on the campaign trail for most New Mexican politicians. But it's a daily stop for hundreds of people—poor, unemployed, elderly and transient—who come for the hot lunch the church serves free of charge, no questions asked.

Democratic Senate candidate Judy Pratt found herself at the church in late July, in the company of the Rev. Judy Wagg, who distributes food and clothing to Albuquerque's poor through a program called the Storehouse. The congregation's men's society was serving macaroni and beef casserole to a group that mostly fit Wagg's description of Albuquerque's underclass—one-third families and new poor, only recently fallen on economic hard times; another third stricken by illness, alcoholism or drug addiction, capable of leading independent lives with some temporary help; a last third incapacitated by physical or emotional problems and unlikely to ever support themselves again.

Not everyone fell into Wagg's categories, though. Outside the church some of the crowd seemed like the cast of a Reagan commercial on the poor. "Judy, Judy Pratt, how you doing?" asked a swaggering young man sporting several tattoos and two women friends. No, he wasn't a registered New Mexican voter, he told Pratt. They were just passing through, having some lunch. "We've been to Denver, Chicago, L.A., just trying to have a good time." An unemployed mover told Pratt he liked Reagan and hated welfare. "Most people here don't want to work," he confided, and several listeners nodded agreement.

Pratt was finally rescued by a group of women and their children who'd heard a politician was in the crowd. They told her how budget cuts had hurt their families, how their children couldn't find work. Did Pratt know of any jobs? "I worked for years, paid my dues. Now all I have is Social Security. I shouldn't have to suffer," said an elderly black woman with medical problems.

"You deserve better," Pratt told her.

"I sure do, sugar, God bless you," said the woman, hugging Pratt.

Then all the women hugged her. "I'm going to come back here with voter registration forms," Pratt told them. "There are a lot of poor people in this state and we have to express ourselves by voting."

Registering the poor.

To an extent, that sums up Pratt's strategy for winning the Senate seat currently considered safely held by Pete Domenici, Senate Budget Committee chair. Since she entered the Democratic primary late last year, Pratt, a three-term state representative from Albuquerque, has modeled her campaign on Harold Washington's mayoral victory in Chicago, believing that a mobilization of poor and minority voters—in New Mexico mainly Hispanics—could add up to a winning constituency behind her left-liberal politics.

Voter registration has already made a difference in New Mexico. Only 55 percent of the state's eligible voters turned out in 1978, when Domenici beat Democrat Toney Anaya by 23,000 votes. Although in 1982 registration fell from its 1980 high, turnout of registered voters was at a record 72 percent, electing Anaya as governor and Democrat Jeff Bingaman to the U.S. Senate. Registered Democrats outnumbered Republicans two to one.

Much of the increase in registration and turnout has been the result of drives among Hispanics, most notably by the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project (SVREP). This year alone Southwest has registered more than 20,000 additional Hispanic voters, field director Richard Martinez says. And when voter registration closed September 25, there was more good news for Pratt and the Democrats: election officials said registration had jumped more than 175,000 since voting rolls were purged in mid-1983, and almost 100,000 new voters

NEW MEXICO

Campaign counts on votes of the poor



CAMPAIGN

Judy Pratt is counting on high voter turnout.

were added just since the state's June primary.

Yet Pratt's election is still considered a longshot by observers in New Mexico and nationally. Domenici was thought likely to face no Democratic opposition until Pratt announced her plans to challenge him. Then former state party chair Nick Franklin jumped into the race, attracting the support of the regular Democratic organizations, and Anselmo Chavez declared his candidacy, threatening Pratt's claim on the Hispanic vote. But Pratt beat them both with a well-organized grassroots campaign symbolized by her walking tour of New Mexico, in which she went door to door discussing issues and registering people to vote.

Pratt's was widely considered a "movement" campaign, attracting strong support from women's groups and labor, along with many new to the electoral process. Hats went off to her when she won the June primary, but the dismissals began almost immediately. Her victory was due to her ability "to excite people who already shared her thinking," wrote one newspaper, implying she'd never be able

to move beyond that committed core.

"We recognized immediately that the danger for us was that Domenici and others would try to portray this as a fringe campaign—a left campaign—which it's not," Pratt said. "We're running a broad-based effort, drawing together diverse areas of the state."

But so far, Pratt's attempt to broaden her base has been hampered by a serious lack of money. She had hoped to raise \$750,000 for the race, but so far she's collected less than \$200,000 and fundraiser Bettie Naylor thinks the campaign might have to make do with less than \$300,000 by November.

"My rule of thumb is that women have to go to three times as many people to get the same amount of money as a man, and this is a small, poor state," says Naylor, a National Women's Political Caucus leader who's a veteran of many women's campaigns, including Texan Ann Richards' successful race for state treasurer. "Plus, Judy's a working-class person without the kind of money connections a lot of other candidates have. She's also very principled."

A progressive state.

Yet Pratt remains convinced she can defeat Domenici. "I'm not interested in a campaign I can't win. I don't care about just raising issues—voters won't take you seriously. We looked closely at Domenici's voting record and determined that he could be beaten."

Central to Pratt's conviction is New Mexico's legislative history. "This is a progressive state," she says, pointing to its status as the only state in the South or Southwest without a right-to-work law.

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As chair of the House Labor Committee she is counted among the strongest supporters of union rights in the legislature and has benefited from staunch AFL-CIO backing in this race. And as one of the earliest states to ratify the ERA, New Mexico shouldn't re-elect a senator who voted against ERA extension and opposes choice.

She also believes the state is too poor to vote Republican, with almost half its population minorities. Forty-second in per capita income, New Mexico generally suffers an unemployment rate several points higher than the national figure. In northern Mora County, the rate is 40 percent. On the Navajo Reservation it's 65 percent and in the state's mining areas it's as high as 30 percent. In literature and public appearances Pratt hits hard at Domenici's support for Reagan budget cuts, especially his two votes against extending unemployment benefits.

Military spending, the nuclear freeze and foreign policy have also been among her central campaign issues. Polling identified "Domenici's Dirty Dozen," 12 issues on which Domenici's voting record put him at odds with New Mexican voters, and defense policy figured prominently. Domenici has tried with some success to position himself as a moderate on military issues, urging Reagan to settle for a 9 percent defense budget hike when the president was proposing a 13 percent increase. But Pratt and her advisors believe voters can be made to see Domenici as Reagan's staunch ally on military affairs by publicizing his votes against the nuclear freeze and for new weapons, including the MX, B-1 and nerve gas.

The military spending issue can cut both ways in defense-dependent New Mexico, however, since defense contracting there totals twice the state's annual \$1.4 billion budget. As an executive board member of the national Jobs with Peace campaign Pratt is careful to talk about ways to cut spending without costing jobs. "We have to make clear that we're talking about planning, we're talking about converting to other job-producing industries," she said. "You also point out that the state is still 42nd in per capita income. We're a military reservation."

"Year of the woman?"

With Geraldine Ferraro on the presidential ticket and six women Senate candidates, this is the Democrats' "year of the woman," Pratt notes. But she, like the other women Senate hopefuls, are finding that the party's verbal enthusiasm for their candidacies isn't quite matched by dollars. Pratt received \$12,500 from the party earlier this year, and expects to more than double that by the end of the race. But it's been slow going.

"They want to see poll results, they want to know where we believe Domenici's vulnerable," said campaign manager Ann Watkins in July. Notes fundraiser Naylor: "There are so many more races to spend money on, they don't want to put even nominal sums into a campaign that can't win."

Given that Domenici is expected to raise \$2.5 million, Pratt can't win a spending war. Right now she's counting on a high turnout, and some circumstances are working in her favor. A recent court ruling that New Mexico's reapportionment discriminated against Hispanic and Indians resulted in a special primary election last month that fielded additional minority candidates for the November state legislative elections. "That should motivate a very strong turnout among those groups," says SVREP's Martinez.

She can also count on a committed cadre of staff and volunteers, some of whom, like former Wisconsin State Rep. Midge Miller, have come from out of state to work for a candidate they believe in. While acknowledging Domenici's lead in the polls and in fundraising, Miller points out that "this isn't a state where a big media blast is all it takes. My grassroots experience and work with people tells me we can win. Otherwise I wouldn't be here. I could have worked Wisconsin for Mondale and Ferraro. We just bought a sailboat. I have plenty of things to do with my time."

MILITA

LORDSTOWN, OHIO

A DOZEN YEARS AGO WORKERS at this sprawling bluff factory complex made themselves a symbol of rebellion on the assembly line. As a tough new management team attempted to fire about 450 workers, increase workloads on what was billed as the world's fastest auto assembly line and enforce strict discipline, the 8,100 workers building Chevrolet Vegas and vans fought back with everything they had: they slowed down, followed instructions to the letter (thus fouling production), sabotaged cars and eventually went on strike.

It was a traditional fight against management speed-up, carried on with exceptional militancy and flair, but it was more than that. It was a defense of a hard-won informal system, enforced with immediate penalties of disrupted production, that gave workers an unusual amount of control over their assembly routines. But it was also a rebellion against degradation by management and by a tiresome, deadening world of work. Although few noticed at the time, it was a protest against management obsession with production that undermined workers' desires to do high quality work. It was also an uncompromising expression of solidarity and a fight for greater democracy at work.

Although some pundits overplayed it, it was also a part of the rebellious times as the very youthful work force—some of them disgruntled Vietnam vets, many sometime college students, others part of the counter-culture—sought control over their own lives, which was the battle cry of so many movements spawned in the '60s. No more "shut your mouth and break your back" for them.

The auto industry is very different now than it was then. Many survivors of the earlier battles are now older, and they have been subjected to a decade of economic insecurity and a political drift to the right that has taken its toll. Anyone seeking the Lordstown of 1971-72 will be surprised to find more talk of labor-management cooperation, pride in the plant's number one quality ranking and concern about keeping sales of its car, the Cavalier J-car, and its van at the top of GM's charts.

But anyone who thinks that Lordstown workers have been completely tamed or turned conservative and that the aspirations of yesteryear have been abandoned for a new realism is wrong. The old spirit of battle lingers in the plant like a ghost, according to self-styled "pragmatic radical" Ed York. It is a specter that draws respect, despite whatever has happened since, and few at Lordstown want to abandon that image.

"We didn't lose our balls," shop chairman Al Alli said indignantly. "We just use them a little less frequently. People think things have changed, but they haven't. If management takes care of people, we won't fight them. But relations with management haven't changed that much since the wars. Management hasn't changed at all. They're still rotten bastards that will suck the blood out of you. Don't believe [Lordstown workers] are mellowing out. Maybe they've mellowed 'cause management isn't fucking with them as much. I get upset when they say we've mellowed. We haven't."

Yet some things have changed. The major catalyst for transformation on both sides of the labor-management divide appears to have been the deep auto depression of recent years. After a history with few major layoffs, Lordstown suddenly lost one full shift in its car plant

for nearly a year and a half. Small car production in the U.S. was in jeopardy. And laid-off auto workers joined an already vast pool of unemployed steel workers from nearby Youngstown.

"I was off a lot of that year and a half," Dave Zambino said. "I picked up odd jobs and volunteered at the union. That's where a lot of people started thinking more seriously about job security."

Now the Lordstown factory is running six days a week, nine hours a shift. Some old grievances about overwork, excessive hours and unfair discipline are returning. But the chill of unemployment, reinforced by the threats of foreign competition, outsourcing (subcontracting work) and new, automated and computerized technology, persists.

In the spring of 1982, many local leaders of UAW Local 1112, in opposition to their local president who was on the national bargaining committee, helped organize the fight against the concession contract. The local voted heavily against it. This year the local leadership, with sentiments ranging from deep misgivings to mild enthusiasm, is recommending that the members vote for the modest contract just negotiated (see *In These Times*, Oct. 3). They are likely to follow that advice, but without much zeal.

The hope will be that the contract will bring job security, but many have grave doubts about the effectiveness of the job security plan and some fears that it may ease the company's plans to introduce labor-saving technology and find low-wage, possibly foreign sources, for many parts. Since there is a widespread feeling that concessions did not save jobs but merely fattened corporate profits and executive bonuses, people are bitter that the old contract was not restored and that there is so little new time off and improvement in the base rate of pay. Yet recent experiences at Lordstown—plus a fatalism that the contract is irreversible—help explain why the pact is likely to pass throughout the GM empire.

The intensity of the "wars" diminished after 1975 at Lordstown, and the work continued fairly steadily in the mid-'70s despite dropping Vega sales and recession layoffs. A new plant manager was less confrontational, and anxieties about holding a job increased as the local economy took a nosedive. In 1981 Lordstown was one of three plants where GM started building the new J-car—a small, front-wheel-drive model. But by January of the following year, the company began phasing out the second shift. Despite the layoffs, the local fought the concession contract, which did not save any jobs.

Yet management was able to pick away at the local, using the layoffs and the club of competition for jobs with the other J-car plants. While production was down, GM switched from a system of rotating, "tag" relief from the line to a system of mass breaks from work. According to local president Rudy Gasperek, that eliminated 500 to 600 jobs—jobs that were prized because they offered more variety. The union felt powerless to fight it.

Around the same time, management introduced quality monitors, production workers picked by the company to talk to fellow union members about quality problems. A quality of work life (QWL) program was also started, with regular, paid, voluntary meetings after work for departments to discuss minor gripes. Management also tried to show its commitment to better quality assembly, especially after engine problems with the car in the first year.

"In some respects we are partners," said Jim Tripp, a union benefits representative. "We've always been for quality, and now they are. Also, we are competing against some UAW members. We feel our product is better than Chrysler or certainly Toyota.... In the past quality would go out the window for production. It would take blood on the assembly line to stop the line. That's not the case any more. We said seeing is believing. So they stopped the assembly line to get things right. That's what convinced workers. They said, 'They'll stop doing it tomorrow.' Then they thought, 'Maybe the company was serious.'"

"We always wanted a quality car, but we didn't have control over that," Gasperek said. "They said they were going to build a quality car, and they stuck to this to the letter. It's the first time in 18 years that they've done that. As a result, people got excited. They allowed people to give their ideas. We had working knowledge. But they hired us from the neck on down."

By reaching first place in the corporate quality audit, Lordstown could make the case that it should get a second shift restored when sales improved. As a sign of cooperation, grievances also dropped to a low of 250 (compared with a backlog of 3,500 just before local negotiations started this year). But as workers extended the hand of cooperation, management was also taking things out of that hand—eliminating jobs, increasing workloads, playing on competitive pressures among plants.

"The attitude has changed completely," electrician Frank R. Bagaglia said. "There's more cooperation, more participation in company programs and people are more alert on quality. But I don't think it's been reciprocated. It's a one-sided deal. Workload has increased, radically so, and with the blessing of the workers. People had the attitude: 'We know what's expected, and here it is.'"

"Due to the recession a lot of people accepted more work," van plant inspector Denny Choleva said. "They added one little thing to my job in December last year, one this past changeover. Not big things, but they still increase the workload. It was a different situation [in 1971-72]. People were less willing to take it. But they saw what happened in the

Valley with steel, the one shift, the plants closing in Cleveland. Last August they moved the El Camino to Mexico. If they can do that with the El Camino, they can do it with the van, the J-car or anything else."

Some workers still fight increased workloads, but management has become more sophisticated and patient in intensifying work. Instead of mass layoffs and dramatic job changes, one job at a time may be eliminated and one screw here, one clip there, distributed over many other workers.

Also, the union has changed its stance. In the past it would argue for a "50 percent job," Alli said, and now it's up to 75 percent. Gasperek argued as well that there was not overwork but a "balancing" of different jobs. As a result, York complained, "they've skimmed off all the gravy out there."

To insure the return of the second shift the local union temporarily restricted transfer rights and suspended all formal grievances over workloads. Earlier they had let the line speed creep upward by two cars an hour.

"We sat down and looked at areas where they needed local relief and compromised in some areas," Vice President Bill Bowers said. "We let people get back into the swing of things and told management we wouldn't resort to formal procedures. We had people out 18 months. They were completely out of everything—unemployment, supplementary unemployment benefits—and when they did return to work, they were willing to do a little bit more."

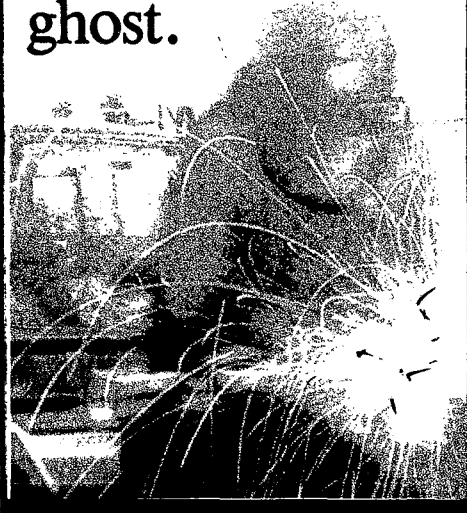
But the union's leaders are sensitive to the charge that they were competing with union brothers and sisters at other plants to get the jobs and insist that no concessions were made in the local contract. "GM is trying to" foment competition between plants, shop committeeman Paul Cubellis said. "But we say we're not competing with you [the other locals]. We're brothers. For the last six or seven months we've been that tight" with the other J-car locals, he gestures, "after we first met last January."

"We were going through rough times," shop chairman Alli said. "We did some things to keep our people working. We roll with the punches, and now when times are good, we expect management to roll. We cooperated a little bit more with management in rough times."

But many workers and local union officials see the era of cooperation at the local level under new strains, despite the emphasis placed on cooperation in the national agreement. After suffering serious job losses with the change in relief methods, the shifting of inspection responsibilities to assemblers (eliminating one-third of the inspectors), and the increase of workloads, workers face threats of outsourcing and automation.

Already, special convertible tops are made at a nearby supply plant, which the UAW tried to organize and lost narrowly in its first election. A small parts line that employed at least 20 people per shift was subcontracted. But management had to bring back bumper assembly that was outsourced, because the quality was too poor. There are continued threats to go to parts suppliers paying far lower wages. Management has talked about eliminating the seat cushion department (80 workers per shift and long a center of union militancy). The instrument panel assembly—100 workers per shift—might have been sent to a nearby GM subsidiary, Packard Electric, if that local's leadership had succeeded in establishing a spe-

**At Lordstown,
the old spirit
of battle still
lingers in the
plant like a
ghost.**



cial lower wage for satellite assembly plants in an effort to compete for work GM is outsourcing to Mexico.

Small groups of workers are eliminated regularly as new technology and processes are introduced. But the Lordstown local is worried that when a new car is introduced, possibly next year, there will be radically new automation of the paint and body shops. This could eliminate a total of 1,000 workers out of an active workforce of 8,000 in the car and van plants combined.

The new national contract provides that for each job slot eliminated by such subcontracting, outsourcing or new technology, a position will be created in a job bank. That will guarantee a worker wages until he or she is placed in a training program or on another job, which may be "nontraditional." Lordstown workers worry that the fund may be exhausted and wonder where replacement work will be found, especially since the attrition rate from retirement is low in such a young plant. The job bank will be administered by a joint union-management committee, but no one is clear yet how it might work. There is considerable distrust. Some of that stems from mixed experiences with the quality of work life program.

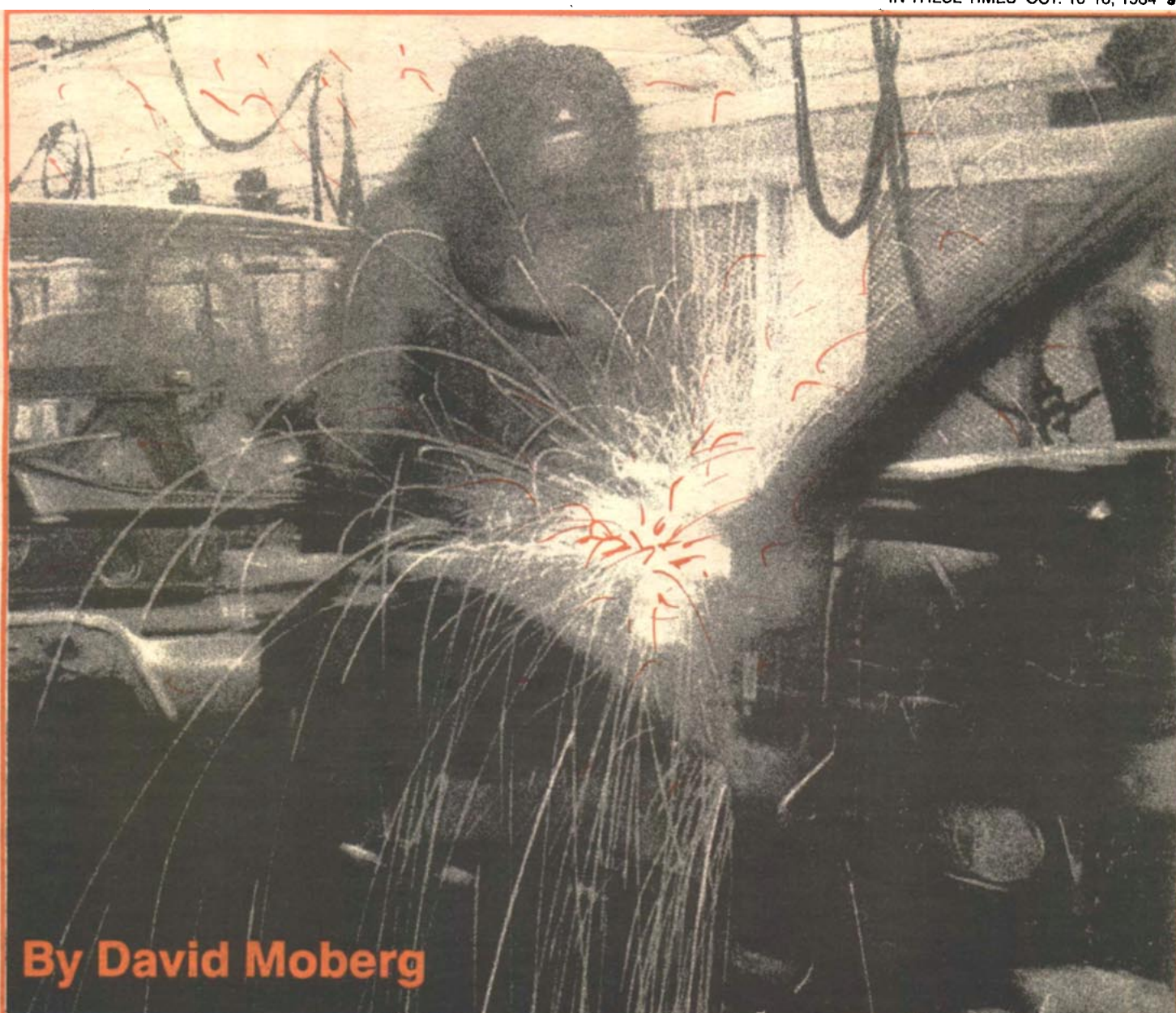
"It sucks," sweeper Fred Fletcher said bluntly of QWL. "It's a squealing session on everybody." And Ed York said he stopped going after a couple of meetings: "Anybody who is anything out on the floor doesn't go to them," he said. "You don't see any of the people who are union people in that, except for the guy running the thing."

Although some see it as dividing the union, most see it as ineffectual. "I don't see anything coming out of it," Choleva said. "I see management taking the focus off real issues and putting it on their issues. Quality of work life doesn't improve. Management gains in productivity, attendance and quality, but the employee gets nothing. If you hit on anything that really affects quality of work, management says it's a negotiable item. If you start getting into real quality of work life they put a clamp on it. As far as real issues—boredom and monotony on the job—that's never discussed."

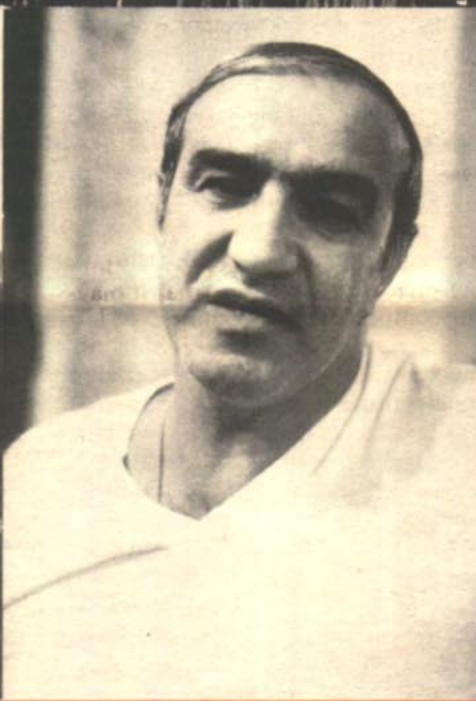
Shop committeeman Tom Mick had been a proponent of QWL, and he tried to maintain union control as much as possible in the truck plant. Committeemen used the meeting to talk with workers. But despite some increased worker involvement in the job and a few improvements in amenities, Mick had to admit there had been little impact for good or evil.

In any case, workers continually felt betrayed as management pursued its interests. When GM proposed outsourcing the seat cushion room work, "pandemonium set in," Gasperek said. "We'd been at a 145 audit [perfect quality] straight through. Is this the way GM treats us? We're talking quality of work life, non-adversarial relationships, new teamwork, and this is their response."

In the summer of 1983 the once notorious Lordstown plant had not only the top quality ranking in GM but also the best attendance record. "Just after that management changed the penalty for first offense on absenteeism from a reprimand to balance of the shift and a week disciplinary lay-off," Cubellis said. "They would hit guys with reasonably good records, too, and the committeemen had been refusing to protest for people with bad absenteeism. So people said, this quality of work life, what is it?" In local



By David Moberg



(Left to right) Al Alli, Paul Cubellis, Rudy Gasperek

negotiations this fall the union reduced the discipline for absenteeism and won back pay on around 500 grievances, but the feeling remains that GM cannot be trusted.

York and other workers report that discipline is tightening, foremen are monitoring workers more carefully (logging the number of emergency relief breaks), the personnel department has expanded its staff and taken a more hard-line legalistic approach, and as production pressures increase supervisors revert to old tactics of using "red-tagged," unacceptable parts and ignoring quality.

"So people are saying, 'This management hasn't changed. GM is showing its colors again,'" Cubellis reported. It's like the story of the snake, he said. A man found a frozen snake in the snow, brought it home, put it by the fire, and as it limbered up, brought a bowl of milk. After it had drunk the milk, the man reached to pet the snake and it bit him. "Here I saved you when you were near death and you bit me," the man shouted. "You always knew I was a snake," the reptile replied.

"Most people recognize we have to produce a high quality car, and most recognize to some degree the need to compete on cost," Mick said, "but most feel GM has raped them. So they're not very sympathetic to GM when they argue about competition." High corporate profits and executive bonuses angered auto workers who otherwise might have

been satisfied with modest pay increases. They wanted their share. They wanted lower prices for the cars. They wanted investment in the U.S. and an end to outsourcing. But they were not willing to make concessions and hold down their wages in order to fatten the corporation or to eliminate their own jobs. By the time the contract expired, most Lordstown workers were ready to strike, and some were angry that they were restrained. Enough missed work the Saturday after the strike began to stop production. During the next week they happily refused all overtime at the request of local leadership.

When the contract was presented to local union committeemen at Lordstown early last week, the response was very subdued. The top officers told them, in Gasperek's words, "We can live with the agreement, but if you find you can't, that's up to you." Gasperek is well aware of the dangers of backing an unpopular contract. He was elected president two years ago largely because many Lordstown workers were mad at the incumbent for helping to negotiate the national concession contract.

This year people were unhappy with the new graded wage boosts that reversed long-standing UAW policy of compressing wage differences. They did not like the lump sum payments instead of wage hikes in the second and third years. They disliked permitting foremen to accumulate union seniority while working as sup-

ervisors. More senior workers wanted more money in their pockets. But job security had been most workers' top priority, and the contract appeared to promise something on that.

Gasperek hoped that "while GM does well, we'll do well" and that the corporation would restrain its outsourcing in response to the union's moderation. Maybe the job security provision would help when the expected automation of the plant and body shops comes. "We've had it good the last two years," he observed. "We're going to take care of our less fortunate brothers. It will make us stronger in the long run. Also, you can't hold back new technology. Computers and all this are the 'in' thing. If you stay with the horse and buggy, you put the industry in jeopardy. All we can do is get ready and secure as much as we can."

But will such faith and goodwill be rewarded like the man with the snake in Paul Cubellis' story? If so, management may discover that, despite the tempering of the Lordstown workforce as the economic balance of power shifted against them with recession, new technology, international competition, outsourcing and political hostility, the workers still harbor the desires and some of the spunk that made them notorious.

"I wouldn't say we are less militant," Frank Bagaglia concluded. "We are more prudent, more realistic. I think militancy is in a holding pattern. There's still a feeling we're a group, and we're one." ■

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

TELL IT LIKE IT ISN'T

I HAVEN'T QUITE FIGURED OUT IF *In These Times* sees its role as destroying the Democratic Party and the Mondale-Ferraro ticket, or providing more arguments against the vast danger of re-election of our Teflon President Ronald Reagan. Recent articles by John Judis on Mondale, and Joan Walsh on voter registration could well be found in *Time*, *Newsweek*, or the rest of the conservative press. Give us alternative information.

—Raymond Mostek
Lombard, IL

BOONIE VIEW

HERE'S A REPORT FROM THE HINTERLANDS: Paul Harvey is the strongest man in the country. He does it so well. Reagan is in. We're going to have a constitutional convention.

We'll make pretty corpses.

And we deserve it. Anybody that can't figure out who to vote for or what to call themselves probably couldn't run the country! When we come out the other end of the grinder we'll have lost the privilege of our wooly-headedness.

—John Finley
Kodiak, AK

NEW PRIDE

I REMEMBER VIVIDLY, IN 1968, WALKING out of the Newman Center with my wife and friends during Mass. We walked back to our communal apartment after stopping to buy bread and wine to have our own *agape*. Just a few days before we had all been protesting Dow Chemical's recruiting on our campus at San Jose State College. Although not a long-lived one, we had created our own Christian base com-

munity.

For too many years, the Catholic Church had been mindlessly repeating doctrinal rhetoric. It had finally become obvious to all of us that the Church was no longer speaking to us or guarding its flock. In the past few years, with the progress of liberation theology, it seems there is indeed some shift of emphasis on the part of many theologians. Your coverage of David Tracy (*ITT*, Sept. 26) and popular Catholic theology are perfectly timed.

To hear Sister Rosa Martha Zacate say that the gospels are already in the hands of the people reassures me that there is indeed a major spiritual schism in the Church—a sorely needed one that reaffirms the fact that theology is based on reality not philosophy.

Isn't it strange to see that what the Catholic Church is so afraid of is bringing so many of us back to a new pride in the Church?

—Dan Hennig
Boulder Creek, CA

UPDATE

THANKS TO PAT AUFDERHEIDE AND *In These Times* for the piece about my game Sixtomania (*ITT*, Sept. 26). I'm pleased to add one brief update: we have finally discovered what happened to Richard Beymer of *West Side Story*. He has just turned up in a new TV series called *Paper Dolls* about fashion models. This information will be on future editions of the game.

—Chuck Fager
Arlington, VA

ITCHY

DON'T PICK A NIT UNLESS IT DITCHES. Rob Silberman's review of the television show *Call to Glory* (*ITT*, Sept. 26) is good but itchy. Contrary to what he says, a U-2 reconnaissance

flight was shot down, presumably by a Soviet SAM, over Cuba on October 27, 1962, in the midst of the missile crisis. The pilot, Major Rudolph Anderson, was killed. It's an easy point to check, and worth mentioning only because Silberman hinges one of his arguments on the non-occurrence of such an event.

—Pete Karman
Rockfall, CT

U-2, RON?

AT A TIME WHEN THE FORCES OF REAGANISM seek to rewrite the past in order to preempt the future, it is especially dangerous for those of us on the left to lose our historical bearings as well. In his review of the TV series, *Call to Glory* (*ITT*, Sept. 26), Rob Silberman assails the program for falsifying history by inventing an episode involving the shooting down of an American reconnaissance plane over Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis. Unfortunately, it is Silberman, not ABC, whose facts are wrong.

On October 27, at the very height of the crisis, a Russian missile shot down an American U-2 on a reconnaissance flight over Cuba. Ironically, the dead pilot, Major Rudolph Anderson, Jr., had flown the mission that had precipitated the crisis by bringing back photographs of the Cuban missiles. Silberman would not have needed an FOIA request to find out about this incident—it was public knowledge at the time and every standard treatment of the crisis refers to it.

—Marvin Gettleman
—Ellen Schrecker
New York

FLAWED

I AM SURE MANY OF YOUR READERS share my puzzlement at some aspects of Fred Halliday's otherwise good analysis of American-Soviet relationships (*ITT*, Sept. 5). The suggestion that foreign policy under Mondale offers little or no choice from the Reagan policy is meaningless without at least a hint of documentation.

As for Harry Truman's pushing around of the Soviet Union, and his failure at it, this surely demands more documentation. Truman did not build the Berlin wall, though it is true that it has been a monumental failure that has already gone down in history. He did not initiate the Berlin blockade; the Soviets did. Truman broke it. The "clamorous haberdasher" (a pejorative term that tells us, perhaps, more about its user than about its target) initiated the program to rebuild western Europe and Japan, not to mention Tai-

wan, and integrate them into a program for peace and stability. I am not aware of any military failures, and your reporters did not specify any. There were some military failures apparently initiated by the Soviets.

It is unfortunate to have the debate over so crucial an issue as our relations with the Soviet Union so flawed in so important a medium as *In These Times* by inaccurate reporting apparently grounded in internal political bias.

—Fredrick S. Gram
St. Paul, MN

TAXES

HORRAY! FOR JOHN B. JUDIS' ARTICLE (*ITT*, Sept. 12) showing that both Democratic and Republican tax proposals continue to favor the wealthy. And their leaders seem to prefer to keep the debate at the "You will!" vs. "No, I won't!" level, instead of educating the public on the hidden inequities built into the system!

Now you need a series of short, clear articles to educate the public on Social Security, capital gains, depreciation allowances, tax-free bonds and business "expenses."

We can expect a reasonably fair tax policy only when the public is educated enough to know how it's getting hooked. If you can get a columnist of quality to develop a series such as this, I will gladly crusade to get them into the labor and minority press in my area.

—B. Carter Pate
Chatanooga, Tenn.

SALAAM

JEAN PETERS' SYSTEMATIC DISTORTIONS and falsifications (*ITT*, Sept. 5) must be viewed in the context of a decades-long campaign to rewrite the history of Palestine and the Palestinian people.

The campaign's objective has been nothing short of vilifying and dehumanizing these violently uprooted and dispersed natives of what has become Israel.

That the Palestinians are viewed by many Americans as virtually genetic terrorists could not have been accomplished without the eager collusion of both the major publishing houses and newspapers. Since the creation of Israel, one can search in vain for a single book or article from a major publisher explaining fairly the Palestinians' history, human rights and present-day dilemma.

Unfortunately, Norman Finkelstein's brilliant expose of Jean Peters' contemptible distortions will be ignored by the Zionist intelligentsia as if it had never been published, and the tendentious rewriting of history will go on. But applause and salaam to *In These Times* for publishing it.

—Mitchell Kaldy
Rochester, N.Y.

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Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

BEQUESTS

In These Times appreciates the bequests received from readers and supporters. These legacies (ranging from \$500 upward) have been a help to the paper's solvency and show a commitment for continuing *In These Times'* role of providing a left perspective on the news of today.

The following language is suggested for making a bequest: "I give to the Institute for Public Affairs, a California not-for-profit corporation, the sum of \$_____ to be used for the benefit of *In These Times*, whose address is 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, Illinois 60657.

For more information please contact: Felicity Bensch, Assistant Publisher, *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Phone: (312) 472-5700.

PERSPECTIVES

New government in Israel leads to independent left

By Eric Lee

FOR SIX WEEKS ISRAEL waited for the formation of a new government. As it became clearer and clearer that Labor was going to make a deal with the Likud, Mapam, until 1968 an independent left party, asserted again and again: it would not be part of a government with the Likud. But it gave Shimon Peres leeway to negotiate with whomever he wanted.

Pressure was put on Mapam by other Labor politicians. Be realistic, they argued. The voters have simply not given us a mandate. Israel has shifted right. The only sane thing to do is to work from the inside, together with Shamir and Sharon, to lessen the damage.

Former Mapam Political Secretary Gadi Yatziv came up with a stinging rebuttal. What Labor was offering, he said, was the "illusion of power." Mapam could have all the ministers and deputy ministers it wanted. But the policies of the new government, on Lebanon, on the West Bank, on economic issues, would continue the course set by the Likud.

The deadlock resolved itself at the last hour with a deal between Labor and the Likud. After six weeks of unending political crisis, Israel finally had a government. It would include as its minister of industry Ariel Sharon, a man who even Menachem Begin was compelled to fire as defense minister. It would be committed to West Bank settlement and a stalemate in Lebanon. And Mapam, together with the Citizens Rights Movement headed by Shulamit Aloni, together with Yosi Sarid, Labor's leading dove, together with the Progressive List for Peace and the Communists, would form a bloc of no fewer than 16 Knesset seats to the left of, and opposed to, the new government.

One step forward.

The pages of Mapam's daily newspaper, *Al Hamishmar*, opened up to new voices. Shulamit Aloni, Yosi Sarid, Labor Party leftist intellectuals like Zeev Sternhall (whose Group 77, a left-wing circle within Labor, has broken from the party)—all have begun to express their views on what the left must do now.

Sternhall has put forward the case that Israel urgently needs a social democratic party. That party must have as its central component Mapam, backed by the

organizational power and the financial might of the Kibbutz Artzi federation. But it must go far beyond Mapam alone, and should include all the factions to the left of Labor.

The new party will have one advantage over all others. It will be united. When Mapam asked all the kibbutzim of the Kibbutz Artzi federation to vote on whether to remain in the Alignment or leave, only two out of 85 wanted to stay in. When Mapam's Central Committee, formerly deeply divided over the question of the Labor Alignment made its final decision, it was with nine votes in favor of the Alignment and some 500 votes against.

Labor is deeply divided. The United Kibbutz Movement divided nearly 50/50 on the question of participation in the new government, finally deciding to accept one ministry (Immigrant Absorption), but urging Labor until the very last moment not to go ahead with it. Speaker after speaker at Labor's final meetings of their highest bodies prior to taking their decision spoke against the proposed government.

Divisions have also appeared in the Likud. Sharon has reached for more power, and his supporters grow ever bolder in their attacks on Shamir. As the vicious rivalry between Peres and Yitzhak Rabin so paralyzed Labor in recent years, so we can now expect to see Shamir and Sharon at one another's throats.

The new government is a national catastrophe. It represents, on Labor's part, a complete capitulation to the Likud, and a legitimization of everything the Likud has done.

It will surprise most Israelis if it really does last four years, as planned.

When the next election comes around, a new party of the democratic left, with

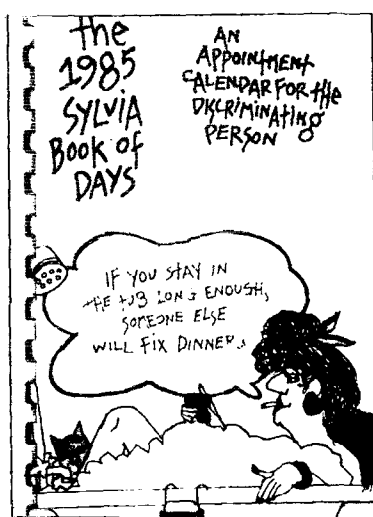
Mapam at its center, will no doubt appear. It will aim to win the votes of the youth, disenchanted with the Lebanon war and facing rising unemployment, of the Israeli Arabs, of women, of the working class, of the dissident intelligentsia. Prior to that election, it will fight the National Unity Government from the seats of the Knesset, where it will comprise the third largest faction.

It has been 19 years since Mapam last competed as an independent party in national elections. In the elections to come, it will probably not be Mapam, but a new party will seek to fill the space left vacant for nearly a generation. That new party of the democratic left, with Mapam and the Kibbutz Artzi federation at its core, represents the last, best hope of the Israeli left.

Eric Lee, a member of Kibbutz Ein Dor, edits the democratic socialist quarterly, The New International Review.

After Labor and the Likud agreed to a coalition, Mapam withdrew its six members from Labor and joined other left groups to form a separate left bloc.

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By Lance Compa

CRITICS OF WALTER MONDALE who say that he would be a puppet of big labor bosses if he became president have it backwards. The reverse is really more likely: a labor movement so dependent on its patron in the White House that it has lost all room to maneuver. Labor needs Walter Mondale to unseat Reagan, but by tying themselves so tightly to his candidacy the unions could find themselves throttled if Mondale should win.

Defeating Reagan is labor's absolute priority; on that there is no room for ambivalence. The drive to elect Mondale and Ferraro cannot be relaxed. But perhaps the best thing unions can do to help Mondale win is to love him less. Instead of uncritically supporting the Democratic candidate and the policies he represents, labor could stake out a course of independent political action for November and beyond. The unions need a tough program that hits back sharply at corporate power and its abuse, not Walter Mondale's "New Realism" with its promise of higher Pentagon spending, no new business taxes and continued restraint on social programs.

Implicit in an independent labor program would be a warning to Walter Mondale: don't take us for granted, don't think we'll back up everything you do, don't try to pull a Mitterrand on us by winning the election thanks to labor legwork and then moving to the right with a business-dominated austerity program.

Jesse Jackson and his Rainbow Coalition provide a good model for labor. Jackson is giving Mondale fits. Weeks of negotiation produced a hedged "embrace" where Jackson openly reserved the right to be critical.

So much the better. Mondale doesn't need a well-oiled endorsement machine. He had that going into the primaries and nearly crashed. He needs millions of galvanized anti-Reagan voters surging to the polls on November 6. An independent Jesse Jackson is best placed to go back to his fervent supporters in the cities and in the South and rally them to turn out in November, without compromising his stance on the issues and disillusioning his supporters with a leap into Mondale's pocket. An independent labor movement should do the same for many of its 20 million members.

There may be just enough time now for the unions to transform their total embrace of Mondale into arms-length dealings—without doing a whit less for his election. As Jackson has done with the Rainbow Coalition, labor can then hammer away on the organizing and collective bargaining issues confronting its members, linking trade union political action to a larger, long-term strategy for reviving the labor movement at the grassroots. Failing that, even a Mondale victory could dash hopes for new membership gains, jobs preservation and bargaining clout.

Not a new story.

Unfortunately for labor, nothing in the election of Walter Mondale is likely to change either the anti-union attitude of American employers or the economic and social trends that are undermining the labor movement. Decreasing union membership and concessions in union contracts did not suddenly appear with the Reagan administration. Reagan certainly compounded the unions' problems; his breaking of PATCO in 1981 was a clear go-ahead for a tougher employer line on unions. But by the time Reagan took office employers did not need much encouragement.

By the end of the '70s union representation in the workforce as a whole had slipped near the 20 percent mark, down from more than one-third representation in the '50s. For the first time, unions began to lose more National Labor Relations Board elections than they won. Decertification elections to oust a union rose from a stable 200 per year through the '50s and '60s to an alarming 800 per year

in the '70s, and an all-time high of more than 900 in 1980, the last year of the Carter administration (there were 892 such elections in 1982 according to the latest available figures).

This is a bleak, but incomplete picture. On the other side, a coalition of unions led by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department recently helped 2,000 workers at Litton Industries' new microwave oven plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota achieve a contract settlement four years after they first voted for representation by the United Electrical Workers. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers negotiated a final settlement last year with J.P. Stevens & Co. of all outstanding issues in their 20-year labor

The focus on Mondale distracts the rank and file and creates false hopes among labor leaders.

dispute, with the union solidly dug in at key Stevens plants. Teamsters Local 111 beat back a takeover thrust by MCI corporation by winning support from journalists at the 1984 Olympics, who agreed to boycott MCI services without a strike settlement.

The Service Employees and Food and Commercial Workers unions have scored significant organizing wins in their nationwide organizing drive at the Beverly Enterprises nursing home chain. Clerical workers at Yale—led by Yale graduates—joined a local division of the Hotel and Restaurant workers union in the face of a sophisticated anti-union pressure campaign by the university's hired consultants. In an unlikely setting for militant trade unionism, Las Vegas casino workers battled company goon squads, forcing club owners to withdraw their farthest-reaching take-away demands and settle on terms acceptable to the unions.

Around the country, unsung local unions and local union organizers are bargaining for gains and pushing new organizing campaigns. Incipient union organizing committees are forming in many of the supposedly impregnable service and high technology companies. Nonetheless, a realistic balancing of accounts finds labor still largely on the defensive even as it goes on the political offensive with the Mondale effort.

Yet Mondale is no answer to labor's prayers. One searches in vain through the Democratic platform and Mondale's speeches for more than a nod toward corporate power and its misuse. Instead, the Democrats blame workers' problems on Reagan and call for "broadening labor-management cooperation," as the platform puts it, just when labor needs most to confront and reverse the employer offensive against workers.

Labor leaders have tried various initiatives in recent years in an effort to spark a revival. Some unions are contracting with professional pollsters to test the attitudes of union members and potential union recruits. Many are turning to "corporate campaigns" that target the links among directors, stockholder groups, banks and insurance companies that provide capital funding, and other pressure points in the corporate structure. Some unions are seeking to use their pension funds to aid organizing and bargaining efforts by channeling investments away from hostile employers and anti-union climates. Following the lead of some of its largest affiliates, the AFL-CIO has formed the Labor Institute for Public Affairs to develop a labor-oriented cable television network, to produce image-enhancing advertisements and labor news programs for commercial television.

But this slick, high-tech approach takes union affairs out of the hands of rank-and-file members and turns them over to investment counselors, pollsters, lawyers, consultants, publicists and other professionals. Not only does this estrange the rank and file. It takes union leaders away from the hands-on work of day-to-day trade unionism and widens the gap between them and their members.

Labor needs new tactics to confront

corporations and to communicate with the public and its members. But high-tech media only gives an appearance of progress, while anti-union employers continue to grind away at unions in the workplace. Fresh approaches should be grounded in trade union basics: rank and file mobilization, tough bargaining to protect living standards and working conditions, tight shop steward systems to resolve on-the-job disputes, membership involvement in new organizing campaigns and, when needed, well-prepared and well-conducted strikes. The best practitioners of labor's new crafts—people like corporate campaign strategists Ray Rogers, Susan Kellock and Ray Abernathy, pension consultant Randy Barber, filmmaker Chris Bedford, communications advisor David Prosten and others—understand this connection and seek to apply it in their work. Too often, however, union leaders only turn to them as a substitute for the fundamentals.

Rank and file rejection.

The focus on Mondale distracts labor's rank and file and creates false hopes among labor leaders that he can rescue the union movement from its underlying predicament. People are not going to rally behind Mondale's vague calls for fairness and proposals or tripartite planning committees and reconstruction finance banks. The 80 percent vote in heavily unionized Rhode Island against the "Greenhouse Compact," a prototype of the program suggested by Mondale's labor supporters, indicates the degree of skepticism—even hostility—toward what rank and filers see as elite deal-making.

Despite the need for an aggressive stance, many labor leaders still hope to restore the accommodation with management that followed World War II. But that understanding, which made labor a junior partner in what was to be the American Century, was tied to steady expansion of the economy and U.S. hegemony in world markets.

That expansion has ended. American corporations are again looking at an old source of renewed profitability: wage cuts and weakened, even broken unions. For the unions to be seeking collaboration with business in this context is to participate in their own demise.

As a strategy in itself, the big Mondale push perpetuates a myth of struggle-free solutions to labor's problems at some remote, high level rather than in the workplaces where workers are located.

This is not to say that sheer militance is a solution, or that unions should give up on Mondale and rush to the barricades. In fact, the 1984 election campaign could create new opportunities to start rebuilding union strength at the grassroots. Shop stewards brought together for campaign tasks can keep meeting after November 6. Local union activists mobilized for the election can move to new organizing drives in non-union workplaces, using the skills and tactics applied in the political campaign: one-on-one canvassing, leaflets, labor rallies, phone banks, publicity moves, etc.

Ultimately labor's strength lies in its rank-and-file workers who are, or want to become, members of an aroused organizing labor movement. Only a policy of aggressive rank-and-file unionism that challenges corporate power can rally workers and save the labor movement from marginality. Not even electing a president can substitute for a determined drive to organize the unorganized and reorganize the organized to begin squeezing concessions from management.

If labor's only goal is a victory in the November elections, it may lose two ways: with a Mondale defeat and through continued setbacks in organizing and bargaining. If, on the other hand, it sees the 1984 election campaign as an opportunity to reach into the rank and file and renew membership involvement in the life of their unions, labor could go on the offensive and help Mondale win.

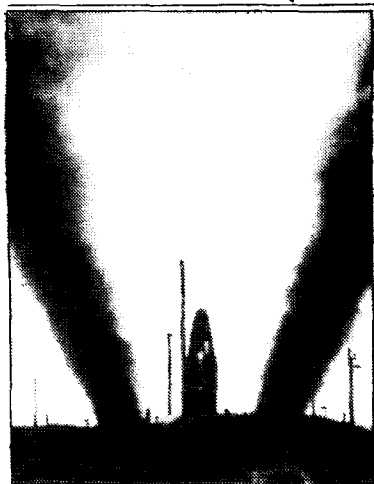
Lance Compa is on the staff of the United Electrical Workers in Washington, D.C. A version of this article appeared in the Washington Post, September 16.

PER...TIVES



Labor should go on the offensive

SCIENCE POLICY



The New Politics of Science
By David Dickson
Pantheon, 404 pp., \$19.95

By Donna J. Haraway

An effective, insightful politics about science and technology is a major need for the left in America. David Dickson's fine book, *The New Politics of Science*, lays crucial analytical groundwork toward this goal. In a detailed and well-reasoned work, Dickson argues that networks of political relations are increasingly built and reproduced through patterns of control over science and technology.

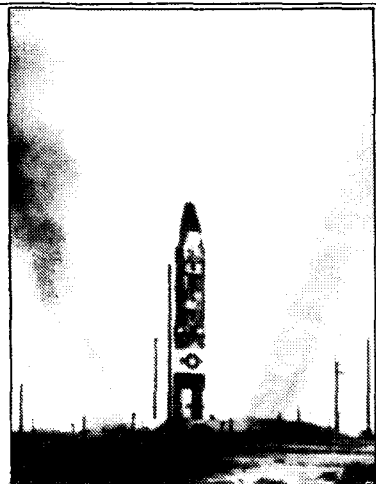
As French sociologist of science Bruno Latour puts it, science is politics by other means. Control over scientific resources is increasingly concentrated in the class of corporate, banking and military elites, assisted by universities and actively promoted by the science policies of recent administrations.

Science policies proceed through legislative and institutional development (like patent law and tax reform), though often closed to public debate, and are shielded from understanding by the terror "science" holds over many people. It is relatively easy to arouse people over an oozing chemical dump, nuclear plant on a major geological fault or genetic engineering of human traits.

But it is hard to sustain a complex left politics about structures of decision making in regulatory processes; scientific educational policies with long-term consequences for social distribution of power; systems of linkages among industrial, military and university research in dozens of specialized fields; or the terms of science and technology transfer in a world capitalist system. The left's tendency is to react to science politics issue by issue, never gaining the political initiative over the crucial scientific and technological means that control human lives in the late 20th century.

Dickson writes from the perspective of a science reporter of European affairs for *Science* (the U.S. magazine of the American Association for the Advancement of Science), and former U.S.-based correspondent for the prestigious British journal *Nature*. He is the author of a left book on the politics of alternative technology and long-term comrade of radical science activists and scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.

Dickson is clear about his own limitations. He uses Marxist frameworks and understands labor as an analytical concept and foundation for action. But despite good intentions, Dickson has trouble seriously working within other analytical frameworks—e.g., reproductive science and technology politics, an area extensively developed by



feminists, is treated in less than one paragraph in the final chapter. His continued emphasis is the need for a genuinely democratic science.

Dickson begins his analysis with a discussion of science and government, emphasizing the size of U.S. research and development (2.7% of the GNP in 1983). The total United States R&D is estimated to be one-third the world total and greater than that of all other Western industrialized nations plus Japan. The impact of this colossus on world affairs is fundamental. The "imperatives" of the military and the market greatly exceed the claims of any other social formation.

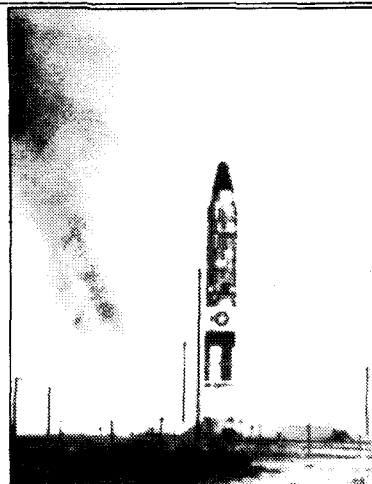
About one in 160 U.S. workers is classified as a scientist or engineer; i.e., about 700,000 people are directly science workers. Other industrialized nations have about one scientist for every 250 workers; in the Third World, the figure is one per 2,000. Women of all races make up less than 10 percent of that number; minorities of both sexes make up less than 20 percent. But gross percentages do not speak to race and gender hierarchy among science workers. Every member of Reagan's White House Science Council is a white male.

Heavy spending and associated institutional development have placed the U.S. in a dominant position in the design and implementation of new technologies affecting the intimate details of daily life—for example, how far a Third World woman will have to walk to her subsistence plot because of an agribusiness development scheme and under what terms communications technologies will be available.

Three periods.

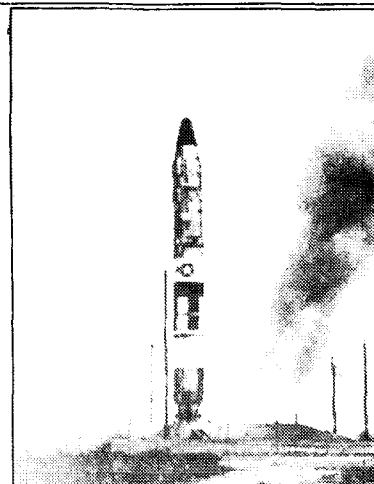
Dickson divides his historical story into three periods: 1) the two decades immediately following World War II, in which politics around the bomb prevailed and during which the war-inspired institutional and funding structures of contemporary research were solidified; 2) the period from roughly the mid-'60s to the mid-'70s, in which science politics broadened and were partly democratized in the face of the Vietnam war, wide recognition of environmental crisis and diverse progressive political movements; and 3) the period since the mid-'70s, especially since Reagan, in which several U.S. institutions, prominently the military and industry, recognized new levels of strategic importance of research and development and the dangers of democratization of science for their undisputed freedom of action.

Immediately after World War II, two major possibilities existed for future relations of



government and science in the U.S. The defeated option, represented by New Dealer Senator Harley M. Kilgore's bill authorizing an Office of Science and Technology Mobilization, would have provided for congressional, consumer and small business in basic science decisions. The bill qualified the scientists' insistence on "best science" standards (i.e., federal funding but scientific political autonomy) with considerations of social goals. Kilgore's bill provided that the results of publicly funded research would be publicly owned. The most powerful figures in the U.S. scientific establishment joined the corporate sector to shelve these proposals, working instead to create the National Science Foundation, giving scientists major autonomy within, initially, modest federal science budgets.

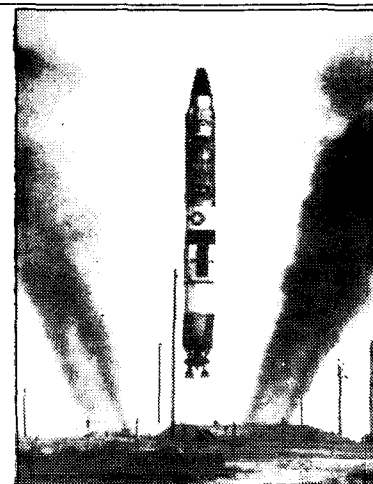
Dickson argues that the notion of science as "intellectual capital"—complete with tones of private ownership—now appears as common sense. Science is increasingly perceived as "investment" and "knowledge



capital," more properly regulated by the norms of the market than those of academic scholarship. Science in its commodity form becomes income-earning property essential to national competitiveness.

These conceptions, already strong in the Carter administration, but tempered by the power of competing constituencies like labor and environmentalists, could not have been more congenial to Reagan and to his science advisor, George Keyworth. Industry increased its own R&D spending and was eager to see an increase in federal science spending—of particular types and accompanied by "deregulation" of any industry decisions.

Reagan saw his role as inducing private basic science investment and bolstering the federal basic science commitment within a framework recognizing the dominant role of the private sector in setting the research and innovation agenda for publicly funded science. In this context, federal support for such items as solar power evaporated, stigma-



tized as unfair government competition with the private sector.

In three finely detailed chapters, Dickson treats the relations of universities and industry ("knowledge as commodity"), science and the military ("knowledge as power") and science and foreign policy ("knowledge as imperialism"). His description of the emergence of federal science funding as a kind of "pre-venture capital" in fostering industry-university multilateral arrangements for research centers and projects too risky for direct corporate financing is particularly striking. Federal grants become a kind of "seed money" in ventures like Stanford's Center for Integrated Systems and MIT's Polymer Research Center. The degree of corporate leverage over the university's research agenda is greatly enhanced, giving companies a critical lead time on a kind of "scientific commodity futures market" as the distance between basic and applied research narrows to a sketchy ideological line.

This realignment involves a structural shift in the definitions of public and private, illustrated most powerfully by the 1980 patent reform law giving universities and businesses rights to any patents arising from federally sponsored research. Thus the only legally sanctioned mechanism for transferring scientific knowledge to the public is the market.

Military R&D.

But concentration on "industry" in the abstract misses a crucial non-market and quasi-market aspect of science politics of direct concern to corporate and university interests: military R&D spending and the broadly connected issues of secrecy and security intertwined with defense and with national competitiveness. Size alone is staggering: the U.S. government spends about twice as much on military goals as on all other social goals combined. More than 20 U.S. Nobel Prize winners in science since 1960 have drawn direct support from the Department of Defense.

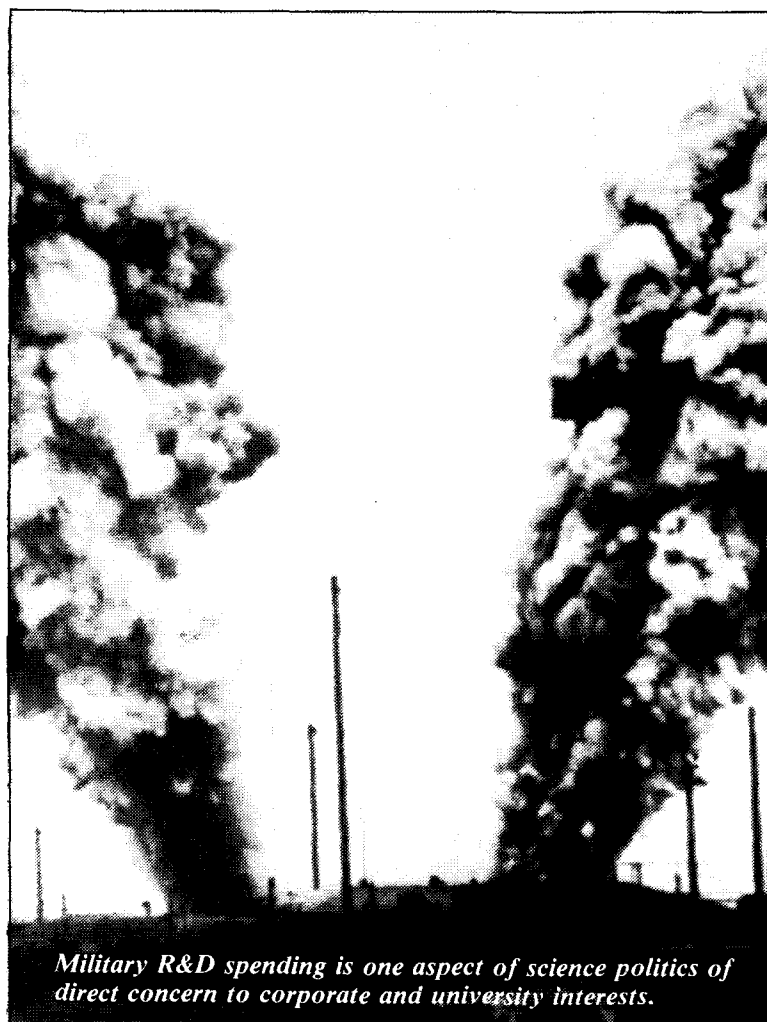
Dickson describes the current drive by military science planners for a "window" onto broad future technical possibilities developed within both military and civilian settings. Military, like economic, competitiveness is a battle for crucial time margins on science-based processes and products. Further, a major Reagan priority is renewal of the U.S. "defense industrial base" (DIB), providing stable federal funding in R&D in security-related areas of production. While huge areas of the U.S. economy wither, military needs are anticipated with imaginative flair.

Major research centers, e.g. the Center for Robotics and Integrated Manufacturing in

Continued on page 15

INPRINT

Science is politics by other means



Military R&D spending is one aspect of science politics of direct concern to corporate and university interests.

By Pat Aufderheide

When it comes to El Salvador, many a filmmaker has worked on the assumption that seeing is believing. But it took network TV to show us that seeing and believing do not necessarily add up to understanding.

The networks have barraged American viewers with news from Central America for years. But the result, according to no less a source than *TV Guide*, is confusion. No wonder, then, that two recent films—one made by Salvadoran guerrillas and another by an ex-network newsman—wade into waters posted with danger signs labelled “propaganda.”

After looking at network news reports for a year in 1983-1984, author John Weisman concluded in the Sept. 15 *TV Guide*, “one ends up knowing almost as little about Central America, and why the U.S. is involved there, as one knew before looking at those 661 news spots.” Images fly by, he complained—soldiers, guerrillas, *contras*, refugees, bodies, survivors. But the sense of it all is missing.

Weisman did more than criticize superficiality in reporting. He also found corruption, in the common usage, especially by ABC, of unlabelled and undated file footage “covering” current events narration. NBC’s Tom Brokaw threw in the journalistic towel, saying, “I don’t think anyone can get anything—enough information about anything—out of television to make a full, informed judgment.”

In a nation in which 65 percent of its citizens get all their information on the outside world from TV, and in a democracy whose citizens are responsible for foreign policy decisions, inadequacy itself would be cause for alarm.

But most disconcerting is an aspect of the problem that Weisman did not address—the fact that people *do* have opinions on Central American conflict, even though they lack information on which to make a “full, informed judgment.” And they draw on that collage of conflicting images in the evening news, which willy-nilly represents Central America as a primitive and chaotic mess, to make their decisions.

That fact is what a man like “Pablo” has to confront. “Pablo” is a PR man for the Salvadoran guerrillas. He was in New York in late August, trying to get some press attention for the fourth film made by Radio Venceremos, the media arm of the FMLN.

The film, *A Time of Daring*, is straightforward, efficient and chilling. It argues that the Salvadoran opposition—which the film portrays as well-armed, well-trained and on the verge of winning with overwhelming mass support—is already preparing for the U.S. invasion it believes will follow victory.

Is this film propagandistic? Of course it is, says “Pablo”—it was made by the guerrillas, who have an urgent message to get across. But the film was not intended to make Americans like the FMLN.

“Our movies are not made to garner your sympathy,” he explains patiently, “but as an instrument to command respect for what is happening, whether you like it or not. We can’t take on your political education—that’s a job for CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) or the church or the left.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

DOCUMENTARY

Demystifying El Salvador



A *Guazapa* child recovers following a Salvadoran air raid on civilian homes.

“I suppose people could say, ‘The FMLN is showing us their side of the war,’” he continues. “But you will have seen there is a war going on. You may say, ‘They’re anti-Yankee.’ But you can’t deny the evidence that American military are here now on our soil. And you may say, ‘The communists are duping the people,’ but you must admit that for whatever reason, we have their support—and that means American boys will die in an invasion attempt.”

“Pablo” is fighting another misconception about partisan films on Central America—that

they are aimed at a dedicated core of socially concerned people. He says its reception in Europe, where it has shown on TV and in film festivals, has been so universally positive that *A Time of Daring* can claim a wide audience here as well.

Moreover, he says, the left shares many of the misunderstandings of the general population, including the assumption that the principle of non-intervention should only be invoked if you like the people being invaded. “This is a film for the masses,” he says staunchly.

“Mass” movie or not, don’t expect to see *A Time of Daring* on your local movie marquee. Even the ever-popular nature

documentaries—lions on the plains, sex among insects—don’t constitute a reason to part with the price of a movie ticket plus parking for most Americans.

And don’t expect to see it either where most Europeans saw it—on public television. In this country, public TV programmers have acquired an aversion to public affairs programs that present controversial subjects filtered through a specific point of view. The film’s theatrical distributor, Icarus films, has found a sprinkling of play dates this autumn and winter across the U.S. and hopes that word-of-mouth will increase its audience.

As far from “Pablo” in style and perspective as in geographical roots is Don North, who made the 37-minute documentary *Guazapa*. Though well-practiced in objective journalistic styles, North has made a film that shares with American viewers the experience of villagers who choose to live under guerrilla protection.

He got to the occupied zone of Guazapa the hard way. It started out with a three-year tenure in Vietnam with ABC. “I was always frustrated,” he recalls. “I never really grasped the story, particularly working for the network. We were chasing fire engines all the time. I began to come to grips with Vietnam when I began making films with veterans.”

A popular revolution.

But it wasn’t until he began researching a historical film about Vietnam, poring over his own old footage and contrasting it with material from Hanoi, that he came to understand the real weaknesses of his work.

“We finally got their perspective,” he says. “I had known after a while in Vietnam that it was a popular revolution, but I had never had the opportunity to document it. It hit me—the waste of time, of resources, in the journalism of that era.”

Not only was North “sick to my stomach” to see his own work, but he began seeing parallels with Vietnam in Central America. He began fundraising to go to El Salvador and cover the story, this time from “the other side,” to get the popular movement “angle” on this “rerun of Vietnam.”

But no one was interested. So North took an old camera and bought as many rolls of film as he could carry on his back, and walked in to Guazapa, where Dr. Charlie Clements was working. He filmed daily life, training for warfare, a battle and finally an exodus from the village to

avoid government attack.

The result is a peculiarly North American documentary, deliberately naive and genuinely nonpartisan, eschewing analysis or political message. The film focuses tightly on individuals where Salvadoran-made documentaries usually focus attention on small groups, and the stress is on emotional reaction to crisis.

Guazapa may be the most effective single introduction to this “issue” (that is also a lived drama) for Americans who are taking their first steps beyond news reports. The camera picks out poignant faces and dwells on them long enough to let viewers associate names, faces and personal histories from a region that TV news represents as a staccato series of violent images.

For North, the experience was as eye-opening as his film is to uninitiated American viewers. “I finally understood the syndrome of Vietnam,” he says. “When I went on the *guinda* [the trek], I finally understood how they always got away. The whole time I was there I was struck by how the civilian population completely supported and abetted the guerrilla forces. That was the reason the guerrillas could always two-step around the Army.”

North knows this can sound like hype for the guerrillas, which is why he worked to make the movie intensely personal. “I made this film to play in Peoria and in Burning Stump, Saskatchewan,” he says.

But North is not much more likely than “Pablo” to see his work in everyone’s living room. The two-month-old film has already won an award and has been accepted to several festivals. But he also already has rejection letters from public TV, where it is seen as duplicating information people have already seen. It still may air on local stations, and will be available on the sliding-screen circuit.

In very different styles and with different motives, “Pablo” and North are addressing what Weisman calls “the Cronkite factor.” Broadcast news has been riding on the long-time assurance of America’s most trusted newsman that “That’s the way it is.” It isn’t, of course, and no one knows better than North, who helped make Vietnam a living-room war.

But neither he nor “Pablo” is interested in a contest over who’s right on the airwaves. They are concerned about the consequences of ignorance for viewers who are also, whether they want to be or not, actors in an international drama.

© Pat Aufderheide

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Cynthia Diaz**.

DES MOINES, IOWA

October 12-13

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama on the plight of the American worker. October 12th & 13th, 8 p.m., Hall of Performing Arts, Drake University. Call: (515) 271-3841.

BOSTON, MA

October 13

“Making It in Massachusetts? Tasks for Progressives in 1984.” Democratic Socialists of America Confer-

ence and Annual Boston Convention. 10:00 a.m., “Progressive Perspectives on the Dukakis Administration” with George Bachrach, Tom Gallagher, Renee Loth and Robert Kuttner. \$5.00 Followed by workshops and at 2:00 p.m. Boston DSA Convention. Emerson Hall, Harvard University. (617) 426-9026.

MT. PLEASANT, MI

October 15

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama on the plight of the American worker. October 15th, 8 p.m., Warriner Auditorium, Central Michigan University. Call: (517) 774-3355.

ANN ARBOR, MI

October 17

Steeltown, by the San Francisco Mime Troupe! Labor/musical/drama

on the plight of the American worker. October 17th, 8 p.m., Michigan Theatre. Sponsored by Performance Network. Call: (313) 995-3671.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 19-21

Communications and empowerment is the theme for the second national conference and meeting of the Union For Democratic Communications. Panels on 1984 election coverage, community empowerment, alternative computer and cable networks, international information order, and more. Continuous video screenings. National 4-H Center, Chevy Chase, MD (metro D.C.). Contact: Oscar Gandy, PO Box 301, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20059, (202) 636-6711 (days), (301) 585-4187 (eves.)

BLOOMINGTON, IN

October 26-27

Midwest Deadly Connections Confer-

ence. Speakers include Michael Klare, Suzanne Gordon, Holly Sklar. Keynote speaker—Michael Klare. Friday evening, workshops and panel discussions Saturday. Registration fee: \$25 co-sponsor, \$10 individual, \$3 low income. Registration Fri., Sat. at International House, 111 South Jordan. Workshops, speakers at Woodburn Hall. (812) 336-1148.

NEW HAVEN, CT

October 27

E.F. Schumacher Society Lecture Program, 9:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m., Yale University, Strathcona Hall. Speakers: Charlene Spretnak, co-author *Green Politics*, “Green Politics—The Spiritual Dimension” and John McKnight, co-director Center for Urban Affairs, “Limits to Service—The Crisis of the Welfare State.” Panelists and audience participation. Cost \$15, students \$8. Optional lunch \$6.50. Reservations: E.F. Schumacher Society, Box 76A RFD #3, Great Barrington, MA 01230. (413) 528-1737.

Science

Continued from page 13

Ann Arbor, and new equipment purchases in laboratories across the country are indebted to the search for defense "competitiveness." Forced withdrawal of papers from scientific conferences, application of arms regulation and export control acts to civilian science, limitations on foreign scientific visitors and development of new categories of sensitivity between classified and public occur largely outside of public view. Elite university, military and industry committees, like the Corson Committee, are dedicated to finding compromises in these momentous issues involving scientific communication and to avoiding messy public debate.

Dickson's treatment of science as foreign policy is particularly important in understanding current forms of imperialism. The growing importance of science-based technologies in the global economy is no secret, and the crucial control of transfer of knowledge about processes, rather than merely products, underlies continuing economic hegemony. The "Lesser Developed Countries (LDCs)" are particularly vulnerable to U.S. and multinational corporate scientific power.

Dickson argues that technical developments, especially in communication and transportation, have broken geographical constraints and bound production and financial organization on a mobile, global basis represented by the multinationals. LDCs have attempted to redress the balance of scientific power, primarily through the United Nations. Trilateralism was partly a response to these issues.

In two chapters, Dickson analyzes the recent history of public participation in

science and society issues, like recombinant DNA regulation and the establishment of the Office of Technology Assessment, and the history of efforts to regulate technology through agencies like the Environmental Protection Agency and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. His basic strategy is to contrast technocratic and democratic forms of social regulation. He points out how "public participation" on regulatory bodies is not the same as democratic control, and indeed can be a means to block wide democratic participation and control the science agenda while legitimizing results determined in advance by elites.

Rather than providing a shopping list of political priorities, Dickson constructs a matrix model for left politics, interweaving three main areas of possible democratic practice in science with political groups. He avoids a kind of science vanguardism, while highlighting possible kinds of coalition.

The leading political actors in his account are the women's, labor and environmental movements and the LDCs. The peace movement should be in this column as well. The areas of needed intervention are 1) procedures and work processes within the scientific community, 2) funding systems underlying scientific research, and 3) the politics of technical innovation.

He briefly describes European science shops, publicly funded institutions intended to respond to science needs of populations without scientific resources; U.S. conversion projects; and the Lucas Aerospace conversion effort in England. One could add some other hopeful moments, many of them from the perspective of feminist health struggles. A growing feminist-left science culture addressing issues that range from the international division of labor to the imagination of

gender in science fiction film is only one of many promising tendencies preparing us to be responsible for science politics.

But political crisis for the left is incapable. Dickson alone cannot be held accountable for constructing an effective science politics, but our current movements can.

Donna J. Haraway teaches feminist theory and history of science at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Her writing examines the connections of feminism, science and technology.

Refugees

Continued from page 16

lay workers called Delegates of the Word moved among the rural poor and into the urban slums, preaching liberation in this world as well as salvation in the next. The radical Christians formed campesino organizations, cooperatives and labor unions.

In El Salvador, the Christians were among the first victims of the oligarchy and its death squads. Priests, nuns and lay Delegates have been prominent among the estimated 45,000 civilians who have died violently in the past five years. The oligarchy even dared to murder Oscar Romero, the archbishop of San Salvador who had grown sympathetic to the liberation theology, while he said Mass in March 1980.

As the rightist terror increased that year, the radical Christians had to confront the question of how to resist. Their beliefs emphasized peaceful negotiation, but allowed in extreme instances for violence in self defense.

Another of their hymns explains, "Violence is a sword of two blades
Violence is also to provoke the rebellion."

Violence is to maintain by fire and blood

A kingdom of injustice."

Most of the refugees inside the walls at San Jose support the FMLN guerrilla movement. Many certainly have relatives fighting out in the countryside, although they are naturally reluctant to give details. But the refugees continue to support the movement's call for genuine negotiations—a call repeatedly rejected by the Reagan administration and its client, the government of Jose Napoleon Duarte.

Archbishop Romero is buried in the San Salvador Cathedral. The building is a half-completed shell, with bare concrete walls and spidery girders. Romero's predecessor had stopped work on the Cathedral, arguing that the church should rather direct its energy and resources toward the poor.

Archbishop Romero's tomb has become a shrine. It is always covered with offerings of wreaths, flowers and plaques of homage. Embroidered messages of thanks, some woven by the Committee of the Mothers of the Disappeared, hang on the walls.

Romero's portrait is above the tomb. He is shown in ecclesiastical dress, with his hands folded over a Bible. There is a warm smile beginning to show on his face.

All day, a steady stream of visitors comes into the unfinished Cathedral. Men in work clothes, women from the nearby market, schoolgirls in uniform enter quietly, cross themselves, gaze up at the Archbishop's portrait, and kneel before his tomb. After a few minutes, they rise, and walk out slowly. Others soon come to take their place.

James North is the former South African correspondent for In These Times who recently spent three months in Central America.

CLASSIFIED

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WAR-WEARY SALVADORANS FIND REFUGE IN CATHOLIC SEMINARY

SANCTUARY

BY JAMES NORTH

SAN SALVADOR, EL SALVADOR

ABOVE, THERE WAS THE CONICAL, GREEN volcano, its lower slopes edged with late afternoon mists. Below, in an enclosure not much larger than a football field, were the refugees, some 1,500 of them, living in metal sheds and cardboard shacks. Low walls protected them from the death squads, the army and the police outside. They were about to celebrate their Sunday Mass.

Two older men, campesinos, or "country people" by their weathered looks, strummed guitar chords as the worshippers, dressed neatly in faded, patched clothes, gathered in the open air at one side of the refuge. The older women rested on benches in front of the table that would serve as the altar. The children sat on the ground. The rest of the congregation of several hundred, predominantly women, stood.

The choir opened, "Singing the joy of living, we come to the house of the Lord. Marching together as brothers, we walk along the road toward God."

Father Esteban Velasquez, the young, white robed priest, stepped forward to lead the ceremony of remembrance. "We pray for (name withheld), who disappeared in Chalatenango in January 1980. We pray for (name withheld), killed in a bombardment in San Vicente in 1983. We pray for all the others, and for their families."

The refuge was established four years ago on the grounds of the San Jose de la Montana seminary to protect people fleeing from repression and war. Many refugees have not ventured beyond the walls since the day they arrived. One shoeless teenager explained, "If we go outside, they will torture us."

Father Esteban began the service by relating the homily that Archbishop Arturo Rivera Damas had delivered earlier in the day at the Cathedral in the center of town. Two weeks earlier, a half dozen armed men had invaded the refuge, shot Julian Perez, a frequent visitor, and dragged him away. Later reports in the newspapers said Perez would be charged with attempting to extort money from a city businessman, an allegation the refugees regard as ludicrous. Father Esteban said, "Monsenor Rivera criticized the manner of the arrest. He also noted that the newspaper report is only one version of what may have happened."

The priest smiled with reassurance. "I think that in speaking out, Monsenor means that you must not feel afraid here. The church has promised to protect you. You must ignore those men." He gestured toward one of the walls, where armed men, both in and out of uniform, frequently show themselves, and sometimes mutter curses and threats.

The Mass continued with a Gospel reading, from Chapter 13 of Matthew. Esteban said, "After a certain farmer had planted his crop, his enemy came along in the night to sow weeds. The plants grew intertwined. The farmer wanted to eradicate the field immediately. But then he realized that he should wait until the harvest, and then separate the grain from the weeds."

The young priest said he thought the reading could apply to the present civil war in El Salvador. The farmer had wanted to act abruptly, but learned the value of patience. In the same way, the Salvadoran government and the FMLN guerrilla movement should try and talk "seated around the

same table" instead of fighting.

"But the government is not sincere," he went on. "It says it will only dialogue after the FMLN gives up its arms. But the government is not offering to stop its air bombardments, or its mortar attacks."

"Still, God can change the heart of even the biggest exploiter. We should never stop trying to talk with even our worst enemies."

Father Esteban paused. "That is my point of view. But maybe I'm mistaken about the reading. What do you think?"

One of the guitar players, a man with thick, curly hair, nodded. "To talk is best," he said. "God teaches us that we must always be ready to pardon the exploiters."

Another man, younger and well-spoken, agreed. "You don't fight violence with violence, injustice with injustice or poverty. You need justice, equality and love."

A man in a straw campesino hat demurred. He asked, "Had not the harvest time already arrived, the time to separate the grains from the weeds?"

A young woman in the choir changed the interpretation. Might not the weeds represent the arguments the refugees sometimes had, the occasional disputes over the cooking and cleaning? "We must remove these kinds of weeds from among us," she concluded.

Other people spoke to an audience that was solemnly attentive. Some of the women who were standing craned their necks and leaned on each other to hear better. Father Esteban then said, "We all have weeds inside of us. But I think we can agree that if you have a complaint about a person, you should talk face to face, and not behind their back."

It was time for the benedictions. Dusk was settling in. An older woman offered, "The road to dialogue must remain open."

The worshippers responded in unison, "We pray to the Lord."

An old man said quietly, "Let there be no more spilling of blood in El Salvador."

"We pray to the Lord."

The priest then gave communion, moving around among the worshippers. There were more songs, including,

"When the poor believe in the poor

We will live in dignity.

When the poor believe in the poor

We will have fraternity.

When the poor believe in the poor

We will sing in liberty."

The Mass closed with the congregation shaking hands warmly with each other. Then they moved off into the night, to their makeshift shacks and their dinners of beans, rice and tortillas.

"A KINGDOM OF INJUSTICE."

The Reagan administration has maintained that the revolutionary movement in El Salvador is guided and financed by Communism in Moscow and Havana. That claim is dishonest for several reasons, among the most important of which is that it willfully ignores the importance of a radical Christianity that grew inside El Salvador. Many of the FMLN guerrillas go into battle wearing crosses around their necks, and some priests travel with them as chaplains.

The Catholic Church in Latin America, starting at the famous conference in Medellin, Colombia in 1968, turned in a more social direction, away from its past unwavering support for oligarchies and the status quo. A new generation of priests, nuns and

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